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ABSTRACT

These five newsletters comprise volume 20 of "CDF Reports." They discuss concerns related to child advocacy and provide information on problems in children's lives in the United States. Regular features include the editorial column "A Voice for Children"; a status report on federal legislation related to children; descriptions of Children's Defense Fund activities; news from the Black Community Crusade for Children; media tips; field strategies; and summaries of relevant research and reports. Topics covered in the major articles include the following: (1) January--opportunities to invest in children from tobacco settlement monies, Stand for Children Day, and the impact of poverty on children; (2) February--1998 congressional voting record; (3) March--state child care and early education initiatives, public opinion regarding the working poor and initiatives for assistance, and statistics for various negative events in children's lives, incorporating differences for various racial and ethnic categories; (4) April-May--welfare regulations for the 1996 federal welfare legislation, and the annual analysis of the state of America's children; and (5) June-July--the impact of gun violence on children, a tribute to civil rights advocate Mae Bertha Carter, and the Children's Sabbaths initiative. (KB)

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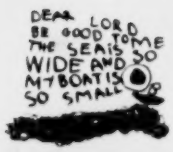

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Children's Defense Fund

CDF Reports

Marian Wright Edelman, President

January 1999
Volume 20, Number 1

Tobacco settlement yields new opportunities to invest in children

Advocates in all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and five U.S. territories have an unprecedented chance in 1999 to direct billions in new funding toward children's needs.

The source of the funds is a historic late-November deal between the tobacco industry and 46 states. In addition, four other states—Florida, Minnesota, Mississippi, and Texas—settled earlier in the fall and are determining how to spend their settlement funds. All of the lawsuits were filed to recover the medical costs—specifically, state Medicaid payments—of treating smoking-related diseases.

All told, states will receive $206 billion through the year 2025 from the tobacco industry (see Table 1.1, page 2). The deal also calls for the industry to pay the following:

- $1.5 billion over five years into a national public education fund for an anti-smoking education and advertising campaign;
- $250 million for a foundation to reduce teen smoking; and
- $50 million for an enforcement fund that states can use to pursue settlement violations.

Because the deal places no restrictions on how states spend their portions of the $206 billion, advocates have an extraordinary opportunity to work with policy makers and legislators in determining how their state's proceeds can best be used to benefit children. Each day, 3,000 children start smoking, and one-third of them will die prematurely as a result.

The message advocates must carry to their state capitals is this, said Susanne Martinez, CDF director of Programs and Policy: State officials should use a significant portion of the tobacco settlement funds to invest in children's healthy development.

"Tobacco companies have been targeting children for far too long," Martinez said. "It is only fair that tobacco settlement funds now be used to pay attention to children's needs.

"Advocates must urge every governor and state lawmaker to invest these funds in programs that meet the

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urgent and still unaddressed needs of children and young people," she added. According to Martinez, three program areas in particular deserve attention for their potential to keep children healthy and safe—and away from risky behaviors such as smoking: health coverage for the uninsured; quality, affordable child care options for all families; and safe after-school activities for school-age children.

"We cannot afford *not* to seize this chance to make certain our nation does all it can in 1999 to protect and nurture children and young people," said Martinez.

Minnesota advocates guide use of tobacco funds

Because they settled on their own prior to the 46-state deal, Florida, Minnesota, Mississippi, and Texas are already examining possible uses for their proceeds. Lawmakers will likely debate the issue when state legislatures assemble this winter and spring.

The settlement provides Minnesota with more than $200 million each year for the next 25 years. In September, the state received an initial payment of $240 million from the tobacco industry. Special interest concerns, including business and medical groups, have voiced their opinions about how the tobacco money should be spent. Gov. Jesse Ventura campaigned last fall for increased funding for law enforcement and tax cuts, uses that could be financed with the settlement money.

The Campaign to Invest in a Healthy Minnesota—a coalition of more than 20 advocacy groups, including CDF-Minnesota—opposes spending the money on tax relief.

"We want to focus this debate on a healthy Minnesota and on what programs will provide the best investment," said Jim Koppel, director of CDF-Minnesota.

As such, the campaign is pressing for the funds to go toward health care needs that have until now been either ignored or underfunded:

- providing health coverage for Minnesota's 82,000 uninsured children;
- increasing funding to provide residential care for 3,300 Minnesotans with developmental disabilities waiting to get into group homes; and
- subsidizing prescription medications for 30,000 low-income senior citizens.

"This settlement was based on past health care costs that burdened the state due to a clear lack of education, prevention, and access to health care specifically related to the harmful effects of tobacco," said Koppel. "So it's only fair that the settlement proceeds be used to assure that education, prevention, and access are available in the future. We need to address these issues now, or we'll pay for them later."

Priorities take shape in other states

Positioning by advocates, special interest groups, and lawmakers in the three other states with separate settlements illustrates the importance of staking claims for funding early on.

In Mississippi, which received an initial $170 million settlement payment from the tobacco industry, several groups are calling for settlement proceeds to be invested in improved health care. The State Board of Health, for example, is advocating for the creation of a trust fund to support a range of children's health programs, including those located in schools.

Mississippi House members have voiced support for a similar fund that would pay for health insurance for children, immunizations, and nursing homes. Some state senators, however, have expressed a desire to see the fund used for education.

Members of the Florida House and Senate support investing the proceeds in a variety of programs, including children's health care and health insurance for low-income workers and others who are uninsured. Gov. Jeb Bush, on the other hand, wants settlement money to go toward a statewide school testing system and additional narcotics prosecution units in Florida.

Texas soon will receive its initial installment of the tobacco settlement. Gov. George W. Bush has indicated that he supports spending future tobacco payments on education. Proposals to allocate funds for the state's new children's health insurance program (CHIP) are also under consideration.

(See page 13)

Table 1.1 Tobacco settlement

Tobacco company payments

Alabama	$ 3,166,302,118.81
Alaska	668,903,056.50
Arizona	2,887,614,909.02
Arkansas	1,622,336,125.69
California	25,006,972,510.74
Colorado	2,685,773,548.89
Connecticut	3,637,303,381.55
Delaware	774,798,676.89
D.C.	1,189,458,105.56
Florida	Settled previously*
Georgia	4,808,740,668.60
Hawaii	1,179,165,923.07
Idaho	711,700,479.23
Illinois	9,118,539,559.10
Indiana	3,996,355,551.01
Iowa	1,703,839,985.56
Kansas	1,633,317,646.19
Kentucky	3,450,438,586.10
Louisiana	4,418,657,915.22
Maine	1,507,301,275.81
Maryland	4,428,657,383.58
Massachusetts	7,913,114,212.77
Michigan	8,526,278,033.60
Minnesota	Settled previously*
Mississippi	Settled previously*
Missouri	4,456,368,286.30
Montana	832,182,430.63
Nebraska	1,165,683,457.48
Nevada	1,194,976,854.76
New Hampshire	1,304,689,150.27
New Jersey	7,576,167,918.47
New Mexico	1,168,438,809.05
New York	25,003,202,243.12
North Carolina	4,569,381,898.24
North Dakota	717,089,369.09
Ohio	9,869,422,448.51
Oklahoma	2,029,985,862.29
Oregon	2,248,476,833.11
Pennsylvania	11,259,169,603.46
Rhode Island	1,408,469,747.28
South Carolina	2,304,693,119.82
South Dakota	683,650,008.54
Tennessee	4,782,168,127.09
Texas	Settled previously*
Utah	871,616,513.42
Vermont	805,588,329.25
Virginia	4,006,037,550.26
Washington	4,022,716,266.79
West Virginia	1,736,741,427.33
Wisconsin	4,059,511,421.32
Wyoming	486,553,976.10
American Samoa	29,812,995.31
Guam	42,978,803.27
N. Marianas	16,530,900.80
Puerto Rico	2,196,791,813.07
U.S. Virgin Islands	34,010,102.11

*Four states settled previously: Florida ($12.7 billion); Minnesota ($6.1 billion); Mississippi ($3.6 billion); and Texas ($15.3 billion)

Source: National Association of Attorneys General

CDF Reports

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A Voice for Children

by CDF President Marian Wright Edelman

Grading Congress

After elections, we often see news commentators rating the outgoing Congress, sometimes giving grades as if our representatives and senators were schoolchildren. I think they should be graded on how they voted on issues concerning our children. And in my grade book, the outgoing 105th Congress gets some A's, some F's, and not a few Incompletes.

The biggest A goes for the enactment of the State Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP). Because of this vote, 5 million uninsured children, most in working families, will get the health care they need and deserve.

I'll have to give an Incomplete on the subject of child care investment. Congress could have made a huge difference for millions of families with children by following the lead of Sens. Kit Bond (R-Mo.) and John Kerry (D-Mass.)—their amendment would have used roughly $5-6 billion over five years from the tobacco settlement to fund child care and after-school programs. Ultimately the legislation was pulled from the Senate floor and Congress never approved the tobacco bill.

However, Congress did reauthorize a number of important programs that benefit children, including Head Start, which includes new professional standards to ensure program providers are successfully preparing young children to enter school ready to read. Also reauthorized were child nutrition programs, from the School Lunch Program to the WIC program, the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program, and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. The reauthorization of the Community Services Block Grant program included provisions to revitalize high poverty neighborhoods and support a more active role for private, religious, charitable, and neighborhood organizations.

Just as children are rewarded sometimes for not doing the wrong thing, I have to applaud Congress for not passing S.10, juvenile crime legislation that would have locked up youths with adults in jails and prisons, while doing very little to promote programs we know keep children out of trouble.

The economic news for struggling families is good and bad. In 1997 and 1998 Congress approved new funding to support welfare recipients making the transition to work; restored SSI, Medicaid, and food stamps to some legal immigrants; added incentives for employers to hire welfare recipients; and maintained minimum wage, health, and safety protections for recipients. On the down side, an amendment offered by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) to increase the minimum wage by 50 cents an hour in each of two years was defeated by a vote of 44-55. An increase in the minimum wage is much needed since 71 percent of the more than 14 million poor children live in working families.

Congress didn't do everything it could have to help educate our children, but it did approve modest new initiatives to reduce class size and allow states to compete for grants to assist children having difficulty reading.

Congress gets an F for refusing to pass the Children's Gun Violence Prevention Act, introduced by Sen. Kennedy and Rep. Carolyn McCarthy (D-N.Y.). It would have, among other things, strengthened laws preventing children's access to handguns and imposed criminal penalties on adults who fail to keep loaded firearms out of children's reach.

As a teacher might say of a student, there were a number of promising moments in the 105th Congress, but there was much room for improvement. The incoming Congress needs to buckle down right away and get to work to make our children's lives better and safer. With your help, I hope to see a lot more A's two years from now.

Taking the next step to Stand For Children

In its first two years, Stand For Children helped organize more than 2,000 Stand For Children Day events and built a base of volunteer-led groups across the country. Now, it's taking the next step. With a new membership and Chapter structure, a common-sense organizing process, and a team of skilled organizers in the field, Stand For Children hopes to fill an important niche.

"Stand For Children's goal is to organize a powerful citizen voice for children and families," said Jonah Edelman, executive director of Stand For Children. "Given the Congress and the shift of power to states and localities, grassroots constituency building is the strategy we need right now to complement the work of CDF and state and regional child advocacy groups."

Over the past two years, Stand For Children has recruited and supported more than 100 loose-knit groups called Children's Action Teams (CATs). They have organized book drives, coordinated children's vaccination campaigns, conducted health care insurance sign-ups, opened new child care centers, and won funding for after-school programs.

To become more effective, the CATs have become Stand For Children Chapters that share common values, operating principles, and structure. Chapters will now have a minimum of 25 members, elect officers annually, and focus on creating lasting changes through collective, strategic action.

"We have redesigned our Chapter structure, refined our organizing approach, and brought on additional experienced organizers to ensure that all of our Chapters—rather than a few—build a strong membership base to vie for policy changes," Edelman explained.

To better support Chapters, Stand For Children organizers are moving out of Washington, D.C., and into the field. The eight organizers will be stationed in America's West, South, and East to train Chapters in their own communities.

Symbolic of Stand For Children's grassroots focus, Edelman himself has recently moved to Oregon, one of three Stand target states (Tennessee and Maryland are the others) to lead the organizing effort there. He'll also help train Chapters out West.

To Bob Wilkinson of San Mateo, Calif., one of 24 local Stand For Children leaders who helped refine Stand's mission and redesign its structure and focus this past summer, this is the beginning of an important new stage. "I've been impressed by what Stand For Children's done so far. They tapped a chord among people in my area who want to take on issues in our own backyard," said Wilkinson. "With the changes that have taken place, Stand is headed for important, long-term results here and elsewhere."

Longtime CDF supporter Frieda Mitchell of Beaufort, S.C., who was also part of the planning process, agreed. "What people in my community like about Stand For Children is that it's a group people can be part of to make changes for children and families at the grassroots level." Mitchell added, "To me, it's a perfect fit with CDF, which doesn't have members, and I hope every CDF supporter becomes a Stand For Children member."

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New Stand For Children members will be informed about issues affecting children and families and encouraged to take action a few times each year. Other benefits of membership include the quarterly newsletter *Stand Update*, discounts on Stand For Children merchandise, and access to a members-only section of Stand For Children's Web site. Members who join existing Chapters or start new Chapters will receive an organizing manual, training from Stand organizers, and an invitation to Stand's biannual Leadership Institute.

"Stand gives parents, grandparents, child care providers, and everyone else who cares about the well-being of children and families a vehicle to come together and push for progress," Edelman said. "We hope you will join us."

Stand For Children's mission is to organize a powerful citizen voice to give all children the opportunity to grow up healthy, educated, and safe.

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Special Report

Poverty does matter

Why the Heritage Foundation misses the point about poverty

Photo © Sherri Byrand

A recent Heritage Foundation analysis[1] criticizes the Census Bureau's latest poverty statistics as "misleading" and "badly flawed."[*] Yet the Heritage Foundation analysis itself makes numerous exaggerated or inaccurate assertions, while ignoring evidence of poverty's real impact on families and children.

Majority of poor Americans do experience real hardships

The Heritage Foundation's central assertion is that any impression of "widespread hardship" among low-income Americans is "just not true." Instead, it claims, "only a small number of the . . . persons classified as 'poor' by the Census Bureau" experience "an inability to provide a family with nutritious food, adequate clothing, and reasonable shelter."[2]

But this assertion is wrong. According to government researchers, more than half (55.1 percent) of poor Americans experience one or more of the following hardships:[3]

- eviction in the past year;
- gas or electricity turned off in the past year;
- telephone disconnected in the past year;
- not having enough food at some point in the last four months;
- crowded housing;
- housing problems (including at least three of the following: broken plaster or peeling paint; rodents; cracks in the wall; pipe or plumbing leaks; dents or holes in the floor; and leaks in the roof, window, or basement);
- no access to refrigerator, stove, or telephone.

Among nonpoor Americans, fewer than one in seven (13.0 percent) experience any of these hardships, and those who do often live just above the poverty line.[4]

Worse, a substantial proportion of poor children in urban areas appear to experience bouts of homelessness. According to a University of Pennsylvania analysis of city shelter data, nearly one in 10 poor children younger than 5 in New York City spent some time in the city's public homeless shelters in 1995; roughly one in 12 poor children younger than 18 were homeless in Philadelphia.[5]

The Heritage Foundation cites a barrage of statistics purporting to show that poor Americans are reasonably well-off. These statistics show that poor families have entered the modern era, with most owning modern appliances and some owning homes. Yet none of these statistics contradicts the basic fact that many poor families suffer serious hardships. For example, the Heritage Foundation claims:

- *"Some 41 percent of 'poor' households actually own their own homes."*

But many of these poor homeowners are elderly individuals, who may have bought their homes years before falling into poverty. The homeownership rate among poor elderly heads of household is 61 percent, but it is only 29 percent among poor parents.[6]

- *"Seventy percent of 'poor' households own a car; 27 percent own two or more cars."*

But this should not be surprising in an era when many jobs are relocating far from poor neighborhoods or from

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[*] See pages 9-10 for endnotes, see page 14 for child poverty data

Why the Heritage Foundation misses the point about poverty

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public transportation. Most poor families work and need transportation. An important but unanswered question is how many poor families lack reliable cars they can depend on.

- *"Ninety-seven percent have a color television."*

But thanks to technological advances, TV is simply a cheap form of entertainment. In fact, too often it is the only after-school activity or child care that poor families with children can afford. This may explain why half of poor children (49 percent) but only one-third of nonpoor children (33 percent) watch more than three hours of television a day.[7] Whether a family can afford a television is not as important as whether it can afford to pay hundreds of dollars each month for food and rent.

- *"As a group, the 'poor' are far from being chronically hungry and malnourished. . . . 84 percent of the 'poor' report their families have 'enough' to eat."*

But this means large fractions of the poor sometimes don't get enough to eat. One out of six poor households (16 percent) reported having food shortages in 1988–1989, according to the government data cited in the Heritage report. More recently, the U.S. Department of Agriculture has taken a deeper look at food sufficiency and poverty. It found that one in seven poor households (more than 2 million, or 13 percent) suffered hunger during the 12 months preceding April 1995. Further, one in three poor households (35 percent) experienced either hunger or other "food insecurity," meaning that some household members sometimes lacked access to enough food for an active, healthy life.[8]

- *"The average consumption of protein, vitamins, and minerals is virtually the same for poor and middle-class children, and in most cases is well above recommended norms."*

But in this case, averages mislead. Poor children's food supply is less consistent or steady than other children's. As a result, over a four-day study period, poor young children nationwide were significantly more likely to be consuming far below the recommended dietary allowances of key nutrients such as iron (which helps protect children against long-term learning and behavior problems), vitamin A (important in fighting disease), vitamin B-6 (which, like iron, sustains red blood cells), folic acid (which protects against spina bifida and related birth defects during pregnancy), and food energy, according to Tufts University researchers. The fact that their average intake is similar to other children may simply signal that poor parents seek to compensate for hungry spells by giving children extra food during times when food is more available.[9]

- *"Most poor children today are in fact super-nourished, growing up to be, on average, one inch taller and ten pounds heavier than the GIs who stormed the beaches of Normandy in World War II."*

Americans today are on average taller and heavier than those who lived half a century ago, but compared with these current growth norms, poor children today remain at significant risk of stunted growth. The odds of stunted growth are 2.7 times greater for children in long-term poor families than for otherwise-similar children from upper-middle- and upper-income homes (with long-term incomes above four times the poverty line), researchers note. Health experts regard this as a sign that poor children continue to be disproportionately undernourished—not "super-nourished."[10]

Heritage Foundation's claims of "errors" are themselves overstated or inaccurate

The Heritage Foundation also accuses the Census Bureau of "errors" and of "exaggerating" the seriousness of poverty in America for political purposes. The analysis makes three specific accusations. However, each of these criticisms is itself exaggerated or misleading.

***Claim #1:* The poverty line is artificially high.** The Heritage Foundation says the official federal poverty standards—annual income below $12,802 for a three-person family in 1997 or below $16,400 for a family of four—"were set artificially high by President Lyndon Johnson's 'War on Poverty' in order to enlarge the apparent numbers of the poor and build public support for welfare policies."

***Reality:* The poverty line is low by most Americans' standards.** When the Gallup polling organization asked Americans in 1989 where they would draw the poverty line for a four-person family, the average response was 24 percent higher than the government's poverty line—meaning that Americans believe a family of four would have needed nearly an additional $4,000 (in 1997 dollars) in order not to be poor.[11] Similarly, when official bipartisan commissions in two states tallied the actual cost of rent, food, and other necessary items in order to determine the bare minimum families need, they found that families needed more money to live on (17 percent more in Idaho and at least 29 percent more in New Hampshire) than the Census poverty thresholds allow.[12]

Further, the true origin of the poverty line bears little resemblance to the arbitrary, purely political process the Heritage Foundation seems to envision. Far from choosing an artificially high poverty line, the federal government officially adopted the *lower* of two alternative poverty lines that had been developed by Mollie Orshansky, a research analyst with the Social Security Administration (not the "War on Poverty" as Heritage claims), using objective data on minimum nutritional needs and actual family spending patterns, building on income inadequacy standards for the elderly she developed during the Eisenhower Administration (not the Johnson

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Why the Heritage Foundation misses the point about poverty

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Administration).[13] This lower poverty line was meager in a number of respects, as Orshansky herself pointed out. For example, it was built around a hypothetical food budget that the government later warned was "not a reasonable measure of basic money needs for a good diet" because it was too low.[14]

Claim #2: **The Census Bureau ignores assets.** The Heritage Foundation correctly notes that the Census Bureau considers only current income and ignores all assets accumulated in prior years. As a result, some asset-rich families are occasionally counted as "poor" when, for example, the business they own has a bad year and they declare a one-year income loss.

Reality: **Low-income families usually have few assets.** Although knowing more about poor families' assets would be useful, ignoring assets does not appear to greatly distort the official poverty tally. The poorest one-fifth of American households (those with monthly incomes below $1,071) had a median net worth of just $949 excluding home equity in 1993—less than one-tenth of the national median. Counting home equity, median net worth rises to $4,249 for the poorest one-fifth of households, versus $37,587 for all households.[15] Earlier reports have shown that household net worth was even lower for poor children than other poor Americans, and that the majority of poor children live in households with no liquid assets at all.[16]

Claim #3: **The Census Bureau misses $2 trillion in personal income, with a "large slice" going to the poor.** The most critical error by far, the Heritage Foundation claims, is that "the Census Bureau missed $2 trillion in annual income, or roughly $20,000 for each U.S. household" in 1996. The amount represents the difference between government estimates of personal income in the Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) National Income and Product Accounts ($6.8 trillion) and the Census Bureau's Current Population Survey ($4.8 trillion).

Reality: **Little of this "missed income" is actually money that households can spend—especially not poor families.** The majority of the Heritage Foundation's $2 trillion figure bears little resemblance to what most Americans probably think of as income. For example, it includes estimates of how much households save because they own their homes ($114 billion in rent) or because they receive free business services such as the no-charge checking accounts that banks offer in return for keeping a minimum balance in a checking account ($39[7] billion). Although it is proper for the BEA to include such items in its broad tally of national resources, these are clearly not forms of income that households can spend. The Census Bureau does not count them in its income definition, but Heritage chooses to include them. Heritage also includes health benefits ($356 billion in Medicare and Medicaid and $256 billion in employer-paid health insurance). Although health benefits are important, households cannot spend them freely either, and experts agree that health spending should not be lumped in crudely with other income when making poverty comparisons.[17] (The Heritage Foundation further overstates its case by failing to warn readers that the BEA and Census figures cover slightly different groups of people.[18])

Well under half of the $2 trillion represents ordinary cash income that was undercounted by the Census Bureau, and probably little of this went to the poor. According to the latest detailed breakdown from the Census Bureau itself (for 1990), Americans underreported about $481 billion to survey takers. But the bulk of this underreported income probably went to wealthy families, not the poor. For example, over half (51 percent) of the underreported money was in the form of interest and dividends—types of income received mostly by the rich—while just 16 percent of the underreported income was earnings from work and 1 percent was from public assistance.[19] Also included in the $2 trillion are two important government benefits that resemble cash but are excluded from the Census Bureau's official income definition: food stamps and the earned income tax credit. But these two programs together account for only 2 percent of the Heritage Foundation's $2 trillion total in 1996. Adding their value to the Census Bureau's definition of family income could lower the poverty rate of children (which was 20 percent in 1997) by as much as 5 percentage points, but other necessary adjustments to the poverty line might cancel out that decline.[20]

In short, it is highly misleading for the Heritage Foundation to assert that the Census Bureau "missed . . . roughly $20,000 per U.S. household." Most of this amount either is not available for households to spend at all—because it goes to people who are not living in households or because it comes in a nonmonetary form that they cannot spend, such as Medicare—or it is unlikely to end up in the hands of the poor. Perhaps recognizing the weaknesses in its claim, the Heritage Foundation hedges its criticism by saying, "Much of the missing income belongs to the middle class and the rich, but low-income families receive a large

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slice as well." In reality, however, there is little evidence that poor families receive a large share of this $2 trillion in any cash-like form.

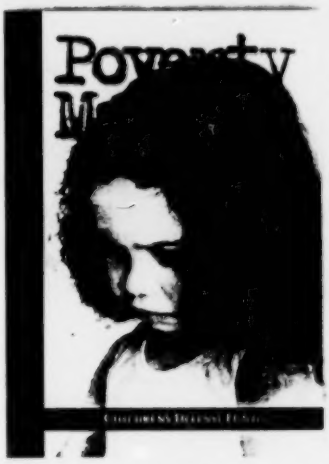
Why poverty matters more now than in the past

The Heritage Foundation also argues that many poor Americans live well by the standards of people in other times or places. "The bulk of the 'poor,'" they argue, "live in material conditions that would have been judged comfortable or well-off just a few generations ago."

But it is no surprise that standards of poverty change over time, reflecting the changing needs and norms of each era. For example, neither phone service nor paid child care were necessities two generations ago. Today, these items are deemed essential for getting and keeping a job. It is not difficult to foresee a time when the list of necessities could expand to include a personal computer or a college degree. The nature of poverty gradually evolves, as Orshansky, who created the poverty line, was quick to point out: [21]

> Creature comforts once the hallmark of luxury have descended to the realm of the commonplace. . . . As the general level of living moves upward and expands beyond necessities, the standards of what constitutes an irreducible minimum also change.

Today's poverty is closely tied to rising income inequality—a pattern reflected in the record-wide gap between rich and poor households in 1997. Rising inequality of wages and incomes increases the strain on lower-income Americans, who not only must work harder and harder to make up for their falling inflation-adjusted hourly wages, but must work harder still to keep pace with others and meet rising societal expectations (such as owning two cars to allow both parents to get to work, or putting one's children through college to allow them to get modern-day jobs). Failure to keep up may contribute to future poverty and to increased feelings of stress, inadequacy, depression, resentment, despair, or rage. The consequences of rising inequality may be bad for society as a whole. According to Joseph E. Stiglitz (chief economist of the World Bank) and Jason Furman, "There are good reasons to believe that there are adverse economic effects of inequality" as well as "consequences for human well-being." [22]



CDF explores in-depth the real expense of growing up poor in America in Poverty Matters.

In reality, the Heritage Foundation has it backwards. The evolving nature of poverty standards actually means that poverty today is understated, not overstated. Orshansky assumed that her poverty line would be updated for changing social needs and patterns of consumption. Instead, it remains tied to outmoded 1955 consumer spending patterns and norms, and it fails to allow for "new necessities" such as child care or mothers' work expenses. If updated to reflect new spending patterns, the poverty line would be higher and the number of poor persons would rise, not fall. [23]

Moreover, even if the current poverty line were not too low, there are at least two additional reasons to think that poverty actually matters more today than it did a generation or two ago.

First, *poverty in America is increasingly a matter of extreme poverty affecting young children*, a mixture that is especially likely to cause serious lasting damage, according to recent research. From 1975 to 1997, the number of children younger than 6 living in extreme poverty (with family incomes below one-half of the poverty line) more than doubled, while the total number of poor Americans rose by about one-third. This is especially troubling because recent studies have concluded that the worst effects of poverty happen when extreme poverty strikes children younger than 6: "Episodes of deep poverty early in childhood appear most detrimental to children's cognitive development" as measured by school completion and academic test scores, according to poverty experts Greg J. Duncan of Northwestern University and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn of Columbia. [24]

Second, poverty matters increasingly because *poverty thwarts children's education* and *education matters more than ever* for a child's future capacity to earn a living and contribute to society.

By blaming parents instead of poverty, the Heritage Foundation ignores the research

According to the Heritage Foundation, children's poverty simply does not matter. Heritage rashly asserts that "the belief that 'poverty' causes social problems such as crime, drug use, school failure, illegitimacy, and dependence . . . although common, is false." It claims instead, "It is the norms and values within a family, rather than its income, that are important to a child's well-being and prospects for success in future life."

But few leading researchers would agree that poverty is irrelevant to children's success. On the contrary, more than 70 nationally respected scholars signed a joint statement in 1994 noting, "There is . . . strong evidence that poverty harms children." [25] While no

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one doubts the importance of parental values and behavior, researchers have found that poverty plays a powerful role in children's future success, separate and apart from their parents' values or behavior. For example,[26]

- Antipoverty experiments conducted in the 1970s and early 1980s (including experiments in Seattle, Denver, and New Jersey) showed that youths stayed enrolled in school and completed significantly more education when their parents were offered higher incomes.[27]
- Newer studies confirm that poor children's bad odds in school aren't just a result of their parents' deep-seated "norms and values." For example, recent studies have compared brothers and sisters, one born into a period when the family was more prosperous and the other born (a few years later or earlier) into a period of greater poverty. These comparisons show that the family's economic ups and downs matter to the children, years later. Children born into a wealthier period end up completing significantly more education than their siblings, even though they share the same family.[28] These sibling studies contradict the Heritage Foundation by showing that poverty matters even among children who presumably were exposed to the same parental values.
- An analysis by University of Chicago researcher Susan Mayer likewise finds that parents' "unobserved traits" (including their norms or values) "have little effect" on poor children's shortfalls in education or future earnings, contrary to what the Heritage Foundation claims.[29]

Ranked against other important social problems—including growing up in a single-parent family, about which the Heritage Foundation report expresses great concern—the hazards of childhood poverty are high:

- A baby born to a poor mother is more likely to die before its first birthday than a baby born to an unwed mother, a high school dropout, or a mother who smoked during pregnancy, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.[30]
- Poverty is a greater risk to children's overall health status than is living in a single-parent family, according to government researchers.[31]
- Each year spent in poverty adds more to a child's risk of failing to finish high school on time than does living in a single-parent home or being born to a teenage parent, according to data from the U.S. Department of Education.[32]

To support its claim that poverty has no effect on children's school completion and other problems, the only evidence the Heritage Foundation offers is the broad assertion that "most social problems have expanded as incomes have increased." Yet this generalization is neither fully accurate nor convincing. For example, many social problems (such as high school dropout rates and infant mortality) declined throughout the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, the heyday of family income growth.

More importantly, there is little reason to expect trends in children's outcomes to march in lock step with family income trends. Although poverty affects children's success, so do many other factors. For example, in the 1980s the spread of crack use and the availability of cheap firearms had a deadly impact on children's lives. Other influences on children include public and private services, the quantity and quality of adult attention, and the messages children receive at home and from society. Changes in these factors may mask the effect of changing income, but they don't change the fact that poverty hurts children.

The growth of mother-only families is an example of a trend that is not chiefly driven by poverty but is substantially influenced by economic distress nonetheless. Although the proportion of children living in mother-only families has been growing for many decades, the trend has been found to accelerate in times of economic strain. In fact, in the 1970s and 1980s, the trend toward mother-only families tended to roughly double its pace during recession years, typically slowing again when the economy improved. "The results suggest that recessions accounted for about 30 percent of the overall increase in mother-only families between 1968 and 1988," said Donald J. Hernandez of the Census Bureau and the National Academy of Sciences.[33]

Conclusion

In sum, the Heritage Foundation analysis misses the point. While showing that many poor households own modern amenities, the analysis ignores evidence that the majority of poor Americans also suffer serious hardships. Moreover, the technical and historical criticisms of the Census Bureau's poverty definition are misleading or overstated. Finally, the analysis ignores growing evidence that the kind of poverty measured by the Census Bureau has real, lasting, and sizable effects on children's health and learning. Child poverty's effect on education is increasingly important because education matters more and more for children's success and their future capacity to contribute to society.

Notes

[1] Robert Rector, "The Myth of Widespread American Poverty," Heritage Foundation Backgrounder No. 1221 (Washington, DC: Heritage Foundation, September 18, 1998); and report announcement, Heritage Foundation, "Census Bureau Data Misleading" (September 24, 1998).

[2] Specifically, the Heritage Foundation claims, "For most Americans, the word 'poverty' means destitution, an inability to provide a family with nutritious food, adequate clothing, and reasonable shelter." But when asked by a survey firm to define poverty, Americans chose an average dollar amount 24 percent above the Census Bureau's official poverty line for a four-person family (see note 10). This shows that Americans do not agree that absolute destitution is needed in order to be considered poor.

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[1] Mava Federman et al., "What Does It Mean to Be Poor in America?" *Monthly Labor Review* (May 1996); U.S. Census Bureau, *Beyond Poverty: Extended Measures of Well-Being: 1992*, Current Population Reports, Series P70-50RV (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, November 1995).

[2] Among nonpoor households who experience food insecurity, for example, a majority have incomes below 185 percent of the poverty line. U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Household Food Security in the United States in 1995: Summary Report of the Food Security Measurement Project* (Washington, DC: September 1997), table S-1. Calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

[3] Dennis P. Culhane and Stephen Metraux, "One-Year Rates of Public Shelter Utilization by Race/Ethnicity, Age, Sex and Poverty Status in New York City (1990, 1995) and Philadelphia (1995)," University of Pennsylvania Working Paper, presented to the Family Impact Seminar Policy Series, "Housing Is Not Enough: Helping Homeless Families Achieve Self-Sufficiency," Hart Senate Office Building, Room 902, Washington, DC, September 15, 1996.

[4] U.S. Census Bureau and U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, *American Housing Survey for the United States in 1995*, Current Housing Reports No. H150/95RV (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1997), tables 2-9, 5-9, 4-9. Calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

[5] Council of Economic Advisers, "Living Conditions of American Families," July 1995, table 1e.

[6] U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Household Food Security in the United States in 1995: Summary Report of the Food Security Measurement Project* (Washington, DC: September 1997), table S-1.

[7] John T. Cook and Katie S. Martin, "Differences in Nutrient Adequacy Among Poor and Non-Poor Children" (Medford, MA: Tufts University School of Nutrition, Center on Hunger, Poverty, and Nutrition Policy, March 1995); U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Nationwide Food Consumption Survey—Continuing Survey of Food Intakes by Individuals: Women 19-50 Years and Their Children 1-5 Years, 4 Days*, CSFII Report No. 85-4 (Hyattsville, MD: 1987); Children's Defense Fund, *Wasting America's Future* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1994), pages 13-17.

[8] Sanders Korenman and Jane Miller, "Effects of Long-Term Poverty on Physical Health of Children in the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth," in *Consequences of Growing Up Poor* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1997), edited by Greg J. Duncan and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn (see page 86).

[9] William O'Hare et al., *Real Life Poverty in America*, A Families USA Foundation Report (Washington, DC: Families USA, 1990).

[10] Charles L. Skoro and David A. Johnson, "Establishing an Updated Standard of Need for AFDC Recipients," *Social Work Research and Abstracts* Vol. 27, No. 3 (September 1991) 22-7, page 26; Lawrence Neil Bailis and Lynn Burbridge, *Report on Costs of Living and Payment Standard Options: Executive Summary* (Concord, NH: State of New Hampshire, Committee for SB 153, 1991).

[11] The lower poverty line was adopted unofficially by federal agencies in 1965, shortly after President Johnson's declaration of a War on Poverty, and was officially adopted in 1969 under President Nixon.

[12] *Federal Register* Vol. 45 (1980), page 22001.

[13] U.S. Census Bureau, *Asset Ownership of Households*, Series P70-47 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, August 1995). Other government surveys paint a similar picture. See Arthur B. Kennickell et al., "Family Finances in the U.S.: Recent Evidence from the Survey of Consumer Finances," *Federal Reserve Bulletin* Vol. 83 (January 1997), table 3.

[14] Fifty-six percent of poor children lived in households with no liquid assets at all in 1984, while the total average net worth of poor children's households was less than $13,500. (Average wealth is usually higher than typical, or median, wealth; however, data on median wealth was not available in these data on poor children.) For poor Americans of all ages, similarly, 51 percent had no liquid assets in 1984 and average net worth was about $17,000. For nonpoor Americans, only 5 percent had no liquid assets and average net worth was over $85,000. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Extended Measures of Well-Being: Selected Data from the 1984 Survey of Income and Program Participation*, Series No. P70-26 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1992). Calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

[15] *Survey of Current Business* (August 1998), National Income and Product Account national tables, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis; *Business Statistics, 1963-91* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1992), pages 141-142; personal communications with Census Bureau and Bureau of Economic Analysis staff. Calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

[16] The Census Bureau includes only those living in households, while the BEA income figures also cover residents of nursing homes and other institutions, military personnel living on bases in the U.S. or abroad, and others. Heritage therefore compares apples and oranges, and overstates its case, when it divides the extra income in the BEA data (based on a larger population) by the number of households in the Census data (based on a somewhat smaller population).

[17] U.S. Census Bureau, *Money Income of Households, Families, and Persons in the United States: 1992*, Current Population Reports Series P60-184 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1993), Appendix C.

[18] A series of experimental Census Bureau estimates shows that the child poverty rate drops 4 percentage points if the earned income tax credit is counted as income and another 2 percent if food stamps, free and reduced-price school lunch, housing assistance, and other noncash benefits are counted. U.S. Census Bureau, *Poverty in the United States: 1997*, Series P60-201 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1997), table 5. However, other necessary changes to the poverty definition would offset this decline in the poverty rate, in part because the level of the poverty line might have to be adjusted. The present poverty line was designed with a cash definition of family resources in mind. If noncash and tax items are added to the resource side of the poverty equation, then the level of the poverty thresholds would need to be re-examined in order to keep both sides of the equation conceptually consistent, as an expert panel of the National Academy of Sciences has recommended. See National Research Council, *Measuring Poverty: A New Approach* (Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1995), recommendation 4.1.

[19] Mollie Orshansky, "Children of the Poor," *Social Security Bulletin* Vol. 26, No. 7. Cited in Gordon M. Fisher, "Is There Such a Thing as an Absolute Poverty Line Over Time? Evidence from the United States, Britain, Canada, and Australia on the Income Elasticity of the Poverty Line," presented October 28, 1994, at the Sixteenth Annual Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management in Chicago, Illinois (revised August 1995), page 22.

[20] Joseph E. Stiglitz and Jason Furman, "Economic Consequences of Income Inequality," Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City Jackson Hole Symposium, August 29, 1998, quoted by Financial Markets Center *FMOC Alert*, September 29, 1998.

[21] By 1987, updating the original poverty definition to account for changing expenditure patterns since 1955 would have caused the poverty line to rise by 86 percent and the estimated number of people in poverty to nearly double. Patricia Ruggles, *Drawing the Line: Alternative Poverty Measures and Their Implications for Public Policy* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 1990), table 5.4.

[22] Greg J. Duncan and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, "Making Welfare Reform Work for Our Youngest Children," in National Center for Children in Poverty *News and Issues*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring 1998).

[23] Center on Budget and Policy Priorities "Welfare and Out of Wedlock Births: A Research Summary" (Washington, DC: 1994).

[24] See generally, Arloc Sherman, *Poverty Matters: The Cost of Child Poverty in America* (Washington, DC: Children's Defense Fund, 1997) (available on the Internet at www.childrensdefense.org under the "Fair Start" heading), chapter 2.

[25] Steven F. Venti, "The Effects of Income Maintenance on Work, Schooling, and Non-Market Activities of Youth," *Review of Economics and Statistics* Vol. 66, No. 1 (February 1984), pages 16-25, table 1; Charles D. Mallar, "The Educational and Labor-Supply Responses of Young Adults in Experimental Families," in H. W. Watts and A. Rees (eds.), *The New Jersey Income Maintenance Experiment* Vol. 2 (New York, NY: Academic Press, 1977), page 165.

[26] Greg Duncan et al., "Does Poverty Affect the Life Chances of Children?" *American Sociological Review* (forthcoming); Gary Sandefur and Thomas Wells, *Using Siblings to Investigate the Effects of Family Structure on Educational Attainment*, Discussion Paper No. 1144-97 (Madison, WI: Institute for Research on Poverty, University of Wisconsin, September 1997), page 28.

[27] Susan Mayer, *What Money Can't Buy: Family Income and Children's Life Chances* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), page 93. These findings support the notion that poverty truly decreases education. The findings are especially notable because Mayer is known for being generally skeptical of income's role in children's lives. Indeed in other analyses, when Mayer examines outcomes such as becoming an unwed mother, her findings suggest that unobserved parental traits (other than low income) may contribute to poorer children's shortfalls. Although Mayer does not try to identify which specific parent traits could play this role, she speculates that they might include ill health or limited skills—not just parents' attitudes or behavior.

[28] "Poverty and Infant Mortality—United States, 1988," *Morbidity & Mortality Weekly Report* (1995, Dec. 15), table 2.

[29] Montgomery, L. E., Kiely, J. L., & Pappas, G. (1996). "The Effects of Poverty, Race, and Family Structure on U.S. Children's Health: Data from the NHIS, 1978-1980 and 1989-1991," *American Journal of Public Health, 86*, 1401-1405.

[30] Kennedy, M., et al. (1996, Jan.). *Poverty, Achievement and the Distribution of Compensatory Education Services*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, page 19, table 2.1.

[31] Donald J. Hernandez, "Poverty Trends," in *Consequences of Growing Up Poor* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1997), edited by Greg J. Duncan and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn (see page 80); Donald J. Hernandez, *America's Children* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1993), page 390. Calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

Setting the stage for monitoring and advocacy

Without reliable data to track what happens to families leaving welfare, advocates have had difficulty determining the specific modifications necessary to help families succeed. A survey developed by the National Welfare Monitoring and Advocacy Partnership (NWMAP), of which CDF is a founding member, equips advocates with a new tool to alleviate this problem.

The survey was released in Dallas at a late November conference sponsored by NWMAP. The meeting offered training on using the tool both to organize low-income families and to monitor and analyze the impact of welfare reform in U.S. communities. A diverse group of organizers, service providers, researchers, faith-based organizations, and advocates participated, including those representing homeless and hunger networks, welfare rights and welfare-to-work groups, legal aid agencies, labor, immigrant, and domestic violence coalitions, and other community agencies.

Data collected from the survey will help advocates answer a number of questions: Which families are losing benefits and which families are working? How are parents who have lost welfare but aren't working supporting their families? What are the characteristics of families in which a parent is or is not working? What kinds of barriers prevent parents from getting and keeping jobs? And to what extent do families receive or even know about available work supports?

"The survey instrument not only gives advocates a chance to back up the stories they are hearing from families in their communities with concrete numbers but also enables local, regional, and state comparisons of data," said **Cheryl Amey**, coordinator of CDF's Community Monitoring Project. "We expect that the findings will identify practices as well as problems. This information will help communities around the country to develop policies and programs that enhance the efforts of parents to adequately support their children through work."

For more information, contact Mina Kim at 202-662-3552 or e-mail mkim@childrensdefense.org.

CDF expands health outreach team

CDF recently welcomed two experienced staffers to its child health team. **Heather Paffe** is the new child health organizer for Texas. In this role, she will spearhead efforts by CDF and other advocates to develop a Texas Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) that will reach as many uninsured children in that state as possible.

"I'm honored to be part of the CDF team," Paffe said. "With hard work, the strong CHIP coalition that already exists in Texas, and a sound plan, we will be able to pass and quickly implement a broad CHIP program after this session of the Texas legislature."

Paffe has nearly a decade of organizing experience for labor groups and political campaigns, as well as issue advocacy. Most recently she ran the successful reelection campaign for Rep. Nicholas Lampson (D–Texas), founder of the Congressional Caucus on Missing and Exploited Children.

As CDF's new Children's Health Implementation Collaboration coordinator, **Desmond Brown** will work on CHIP outreach and enrollment efforts nationwide. Brown previously worked for the Connecticut Conference of Municipalities in New Haven, for Rep. Rosa DeLauro (D–Conn.), and for the Children's Soup Kitchen in New Haven.

Paffe can be reached at CDF–Texas, 1715-B Waterston, Austin, TX 78703; 512-236-1880; fax 512-236-1505; or e-mail hpaffe@childrensdefense.org. Brown can be reached at CDF in Washington, D.C., at 202-662-3561 or e-mail dbrown@childrensdefense.org.

Monitoring and advocacy: Steps for states

States can and should do much more to track the well-being of families leaving welfare. The National Welfare Monitoring and Advocacy Project urges states to

1. Track how many former recipients are earning above-poverty quarterly earnings—using employer-reported wage data that states already employ for other purposes.
2. Survey former recipients with South Carolina's survey instrument. This revealing survey asks about the employment, food sufficiency, housing, medical coverage, and other aspects of well-being for former recipients, comparing their status before and after they leave welfare. South Carolina made the most of this survey by making many attempts (calls and visits at various hours and days of the week) to contact every family.
3. Encourage food pantries, shelters, and other human service providers to ask all their clients intake questions about their experience with welfare changes and register to use the longer NWMAP client survey (see story at left).

—Adapted from the National Welfare Monitoring and Advocacy Partnership (NWMAP) Web site.

For more information, visit www.nwmap.org on the Web. To join as a NWMAP partner, call Barbara Duffield, National Coalition for the Homeless, 202-737-6444, ext. 312, or e-mail nch@ari.net; or call Cheryl Amey, CDF, 202-662-3556, or e-mail camey@childrensdefense.org.

News from the Black Community Crusade for Children

Curbing injustices against youth in Motor City and beyond

"Race is the most important underlying issue in all juvenile justice discussions. If the United States were incarcerating White children to the same extent it is incarcerating children of color, there would be protesting in the streets," said Mark Soler. The president of the Youth Law Center in Washington, D.C., Soler served as a moderator for a mid-December action forum, The Criminalization of Minority Youth, sponsored by the Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC).

The two-day action forum was the fifth in CDF/BCCC's series on Children, Race, and Poverty. Some 200 judges, child advocates, and concerned community members gathered at the Hartford Memorial Baptist Church in Detroit on Dec. 11–12 to discuss how minority youths are disproportionately confined and how Detroit communities can address the injustices occurring.

"Poverty is a critical factor, but it doesn't account for everything that we're seeing," said Soler, adding that middle-class Black parents live with the threat that "their sons can be stereotyped just like the poorest Black youths in the inner city."

Poor children of all races are disproportionately represented in the juvenile justice system in part because they often receive lawyers whose crushing caseloads don't allow them to dedicate adequate time to the children's defense, explained Soler. He described the American juvenile justice system as becoming increasingly two-tiered: "There is a private psychiatric system for middle- and upper-class children and a public incarceration system for poor children."

At the CDF/BCCC forum, Soler presided over a panel discussion on America's juvenile justice system with four experts whom he described as "truly the best people in the United States to discuss crime and justice issues." For example, panelist Frank Zimring, a law professor at the University of California at Berkeley, debunked the myth of the young "superpredator" in his recently released book *American Youth Violence*. This myth has for the last several years been a justification for increasingly punitive juvenile crime statutes.

At the forum, Zimring discussed the so-called increases in juvenile crime in the last 20 years. There was only one increase, he said: juvenile homicide with firearms. Because of children's easy access to guns, it had gone up dramatically between the mid-1980s and mid-1990s but has been decreasing since.

"Every other category has been essentially flat," said Soler. "If you want to know where crime was last year, it was essentially the same as it was in 1980."

Other panelists included Jerome Miller, who in the 1970s created an extensive array of community-based programs in Massachusetts that has been the model for the country ever since. At the forum, Miller spoke about the impact of the criminal justice system on people of color, the subject of his new book, *Search and Destroy: African American Males in the Criminal Justice System*.

Bernardine Dohrn, director of the Children and Family Justice Center at Northwestern University and an international advocate on behalf of children and families, talked about the impact of racially discriminatory systems on children and families. Constance Rice, formerly the regional director of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Inc., and one of the most experienced civil rights litigators in the nation, spoke about building communities to deal with gangs and other children caught up in the cycle of violence.

In addition, the meeting allowed participants a chance to learn more about juvenile law in Michigan and in local communities. "The forum illustrated how the national issues related to the criminalization of minority youth are very similar to those occurring locally in Detroit and in Ohio and Illinois," said Jesselyn McCurdy, program coordinator of BCCC's Juvenile and Family Court Judges' Leadership Council.

The forum also examined alternatives to incarceration, focusing on prevention and intervention programs for youths that have been having success in Detroit. "Building prisons is becoming a major industry in this country, and it is becoming profitable to imprison our children," said McCurdy. "We know that prisons generally don't produce productive young people, but community-based prevention and intervention programs do keep youths out of trouble and help them make the transition into adulthood."

The bottom line is that we shouldn't let any of our children suffer what these young people had to go through to beat the odds against them.

During the forum's panel discussion "Youth Voices," six young adults, several of whom had been involved in the juvenile justice, abuse and neglect, and foster care systems, told their inspirational stories of hardship and triumph. Their individual experiences varied from sexual and physical abuse to neglect, abandonment, untreated mental health conditions, confinement in youth detention facilities, and more, all from an early age. All rose above their life's challenges with support from others and are currently successful high school and college students as well as young professionals. "They had support systems that helped them, but the bottom line is that we shouldn't let any of our children suffer what these young people had to go through to beat the odds against them," said McCurdy.

A publication about the BCCC's five-part series of action forums on Children, Race, and Poverty will be published in 1999.

Tobacco settlement yields new opportunities to invest in children
(Continued from page 2)

Stay ahead of the curve: Deliver the message early

As lawmakers gear up for debate in 1999 (see Table 1.2 at right for legislative calendar) over the use of tobacco settlement funds, advocates should arm themselves with a strategy for ensuring that children are at the forefront of all state budget decisions.

Reflecting on the experience of states such as Minnesota that have gone through the settlement process, CDF's Koppel advised advocates to get involved in setting budget and funding priorities right away: "Start planning now. When the money comes, it's really too late. You need to be ahead of the curve."

By uniting community-based networks to meet and reach consensus about objectives, advocates can build a strong statewide coalition with a common set of goals. Koppel said that the next step is designing the coalition's message. Advocates will likely have to counter the argument that tobacco settlement funds are simply state revenues that should be returned to taxpayers.

Advocates will need to craft different messages depending on circumstances particular to each state, Koppel explained, but the basic counterargument to the tax relief position remains the same. The reason that all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and five U.S. territories filed lawsuits against the tobacco industry was to recover compensation as a result of the enormous loss of life and health care costs associated with tobacco use. The money recovered should therefore be invested in programs that protect and promote the health needs of America's children and families.

Moreover, in filing these lawsuits, states' attorneys made the case that the tobacco industry for decades has actively targeted children.

"The tobacco industry has become rich by promoting the poor health of America's children," Martinez said. "With this historic settlement in place, we must move children to the center of our activities and funding decisions so each child can realize his or her individual potential and chance for healthy development."

For more information about the tobacco settlement, contact Laura Hessburg at CDF, 202-662-3564.

Table 1.2 — **Legislative sessions**

1999 calendar of regular legislative sessions

Legislature	Convenes	Adjourns
Alabama	March 2	June 14
Alaska	Jan. 19	May 19
Arizona	Jan. 11	April 24
Arkansas	Jan. 11	March 11
California	Jan. 4	mid-Sept.
Colorado	Jan. 6	May 5
Connecticut	Jan. 6	June 9
Delaware	Jan. 12	June 30
District of Columbia	Jan. 2*	
Florida	March 2	April 30
Georgia	Jan. 11	mid-March
Hawaii	Jan. 20	early May
Idaho	Jan. 11	late March
Illinois	Jan. 13	(anticipate recessing for summer 5/28/99)
Indiana	Jan. 11	April 30
Iowa	Jan. 11	late April
Kansas	Jan. 11	April 10
Kentucky	No regular session	
Louisiana	March 29	June 21
Maine	Dec. 2, 1998	June 16
Maryland	Jan. 13	April 12
Massachusetts	Jan. 6*	
Michigan	Jan. 13*	
Minnesota	Jan. 5	May 17
Mississippi	Jan. 5	April 4
Missouri	Jan. 6	May 30
Montana	Jan. 4	mid-April
Nebraska	Jan. 6	early June
Nevada	Feb. 1	May 31
New Hampshire	Jan. 6	late June
New Jersey	Jan. 12*	
New Mexico	Jan. 19	March 20
New York	Jan. 6*	
North Carolina	Jan. 27	late July
North Dakota	Jan. 5	April 28
Ohio	Jan. 4*	
Oklahoma	Feb. 1	May 28
Oregon	Jan. 11	early July
Pennsylvania	Jan. 5*	
Rhode Island	Jan. 5	late June
South Carolina	Jan. 12	June 3
South Dakota	Jan. 12	March 5
Tennessee	Feb. 2	late May
Texas	Jan. 12	May 31
Utah	Jan. 18	March 3
Vermont	Jan. 6	early May
Virginia	Jan. 13	Feb. 27
Washington	Jan. 11	April 25
West Virginia	Jan. 13	March 13
Wisconsin	Jan. 4*	
Wyoming	Jan. 12	early March
Puerto Rico	Jan. 11	June 30

* Legislature meets throughout the year.

For more information and updates, see www.ncsl.org/programs/legman/about/sess99.htm on the Web.

Source: National Conference of State Legislatures

Most recent data on child population, child poverty, food stamps, child support collection, health insurance coverage, immunization, abuse and neglect, teen births, and firearm deaths

	Estimated child population (under age 18)		Estimated child poverty		Estimated number of children receiving food stamps	Percent of child support enforcement cases with collection
	Number (1997)	Percent of state population (1997)	Number poor (1993)	Percent poor (1993)	(FY 1997)	(FY 1996)
Alabama	1,071,708	24.8%	288,512	26.2%	240,164	21.3%
Alaska	188,329	30.9	30,628	15.9	25,818	17.8
Arizona	1,278,063	28.1	321,595	28.0	219,511	13.9
Arkansas	662,692	26.3	170,943	26.0	124,699	27.8
California	8,951,653	27.7	2,331,091	26.4	1,808,206	17.2
Colorado	1,015,529	26.1	162,858	16.5	111,697	16.7
Connecticut	792,161	24.2	131,786	16.5	106,247	17.6
Delaware	177,411	24.3	29,897	16.7	27,687	28.3
District of Columbia	107,204	20.3	38,697	33.3	49,659	9.9
Florida	3,471,316	23.7	827,435	24.7	599,745	15.7
Georgia	1,987,811	26.6	480,129	25.2	367,958	20.1
Hawaii	302,592	25.5	45,984	14.9	62,782	23.6
Idaho	351,352	29.0	54,066	15.5	36,438	24.9
Illinois	3,174,223	26.7	643,528	20.4	527,842	11.8
Indiana	1,497,455	25.5	260,217	17.3	160,436	12.6
Iowa	725,325	25.4	112,170	15.1	78,263	20.2
Kansas	687,931	26.5	117,134	16.7	76,244	34.1
Kentucky	961,202	24.6	277,678	28.1	203,339	16.3
Louisiana	1,190,878	27.4	419,234	33.3	298,224	16.1
Maine	297,266	23.9	60,358	19.4	51,194	37.1
Maryland	1,268,552	24.9	194,218	15.1	185,917	22.7
Massachusetts	1,451,374	23.7	269,681	18.7	180,825	30.4
Michigan	2,504,757	25.6	607,192	23.6	426,683	16.1
Minnesota	1,250,685	26.7	185,224	14.7	121,036	41.2
Mississippi	752,998	27.6	261,597	33.9	188,372	14.5
Missouri	1,406,425	26.0	303,044	21.6	241,018	21.1
Montana	229,530	26.1	47,745	19.8	32,588	24.7
Nebraska	444,681	26.8	62,619	13.9	50,751	21.0
Nevada	442,856	26.4	64,454	16.7	44,357	22.9
New Hampshire	296,090	25.2	34,116	11.5	21,528	36.8
New Jersey	1,987,124	24.7	311,444	15.7	249,283	26.4
New Mexico	499,322	28.9	154,078	30.6	109,901	21.9
New York	4,560,031	25.1	1,226,505	26.7	892,519	16.3
North Carolina	1,873,403	25.2	354,012	19.7	276,226	22.6
North Dakota	165,208	25.8	28,056	16.2	18,987	23.8
Ohio	2,838,641	25.4	626,433	21.5	403,912	28.5
Oklahoma	878,305	26.5	226,841	25.4	156,927	19.5
Oregon	810,699	25.0	146,719	18.3	111,515	19.6
Pennsylvania	2,864,082	23.8	582,194	19.7	470,616	32.7
Rhode Island	233,654	23.7	49,456	20.6	45,531	14.8
South Carolina	955,641	25.4	227,943	23.7	181,325	26.8
South Dakota	197,338	26.7	40,072	19.2	24,783	33.0
Tennessee	1,324,789	24.7	342,542	26.0	272,011	14.2
Texas	5,577,135	28.7	1,539,249	28.6	1,191,255	20.1
Utah	688,077	33.4	93,257	13.6	55,329	21.0
Vermont	145,519	24.7	25,470	17.0	21,276	41.7
Virginia	1,644,386	24.4	289,223	17.8	231,941	23.0
Washington	1,454,654	25.9	248,624	17.3	206,101	33.7
West Virginia	411,746	22.7	142,138	32.6	114,398	22.8
Wisconsin	1,346,376	26.0	218,733	15.9	129,698	27.0
Wyoming	131,765	27.5	20,673	14.9	14,746	14.1
United States	**69,527,944**	**26.0%**	**15,727,492**	**22.7.%**	**11,847,508**	**20.4%**

* Children under 19 years of age who have no form of health insurance throughout the year. The United States figure is for 1997; the state figures are averages for 1995, 1996, and 1997. The sum of the state numbers will not add to the national total because of this rounding.

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	Children without health insurance (estimated)*		Estimated percent of young children fully immunized*	Reported cases of child abuse and neglect*	Number of births to teens†	Number of firearm deaths among children and teens†
	Number (1995-1997)	Percent (1995-1997)	(1997)	(1996)	(1996)	(1996)
Alabama	162,000	13.7%	85%	39,361	11,118	104
Alaska	23,000	11.1	75	10,100	1,112	22
Arizona	335,000	24.2	73	46,716	11,226	120
Arkansas	161,000	22.2	77	38,211	7,187	63
California	1,775,000	18.2	74	463,072	64,712	672
Colorado	171,000	15.5	72	49,867	6,661	43
Connecticut	90,000	10.7	85	49,344	3,655	36
Delaware	27,000	13.7	79	9,751	1,388	5
District of Columbia	19,000	15.8	73	12,018	1,403	62
Florida	726,000	19.2	77	184,442	25,448	190
Georgia	344,000	15.8	79	87,006	18,162	160
Hawaii	20,000	6.0	79	5,384	1,907	3
Idaho	57,000	14.9	70	32,496	2,512	27
Illinois	351,000	10.3	74	124,129	23,336	308
Indiana	193,000	12.0	72	66,097	12,079	98
Iowa	86,000	11.1	76	32,801	4,099	22
Kansas	80,000	10.8	82	30,552	4,790	53
Kentucky	161,000	15.2	79	60,896	8,966	52
Louisiana	294,000	22.2	76	45,981	12,318	192
Maine	48,000	14.9	84	9,616	1,338	5
Maryland	147,000	10.6	80	48,160	7,402	106
Massachusetts	140,000	9.1	86	60,199	5,852	32
Michigan	221,000	8.2	75	142,700	16,240	157
Minnesota	93,000	7.0	78	25,435	5,498	56
Mississippi	161,000	19.3	80	29,179	8,748	77
Missouri	201,000	13.3	77	83,875	10,443	101
Montana	30,000	11.8	74	17,732	1,344	20
Nebraska	45,000	9.4	75	16,749	2,473	28
Nevada	94,000	19.8	71	21,838	3,477	36
New Hampshire	28,000	8.9	84	8,337	1,079	7
New Jersey	331,000	15.6	76	67,817	8,849	66
New Mexico	108,000	19.8	75	28,661	4,859	43
New York	707,000	14.4	76	236,241	24,378	199
North Carolina	331,000	16.2	80	102,168	15,685	135
North Dakota	18,000	10.1	82	7,292	799	9
Ohio	315,000	10.3	73	154,202	20,230	126
Oklahoma	185,000	19.2	71	40,916	7,928	61
Oregon	117,000	13.3	72	39,486	5,773	39
Pennsylvania	258,000	8.4	80	23,666	15,701	181
Rhode Island	23,000	9.2	81	14,160	1,316	6
South Carolina	190,000	18.0	79	39,063	8,598	78
South Dakota	17,000	7.9	76	9,051	1,203	10
Tennessee	219,000	15.1	77	34,293	12,368	123
Texas	1,497,000	24.5	74	151,261	53,610	359
Utah	85,000	11.4	69	24,857	4,483	37
Vermont	11,000	7.3	84	2,561	603	5
Virginia	205,000	11.4	72	53,271	10,146	109
Washington	158,000	10.0	79	47,631	8,751	67
West Virginia	49,000	10.7	80	26,478	3,462	16
Wisconsin	87,000	6.0	79	45,479	7,108	76
Wyoming	19,000	13.4	72	6,154	902	11
United States	**11,600,000**	**15.3%**	**76%**	**3,006,753**	**502,725**	**4,613**

* Children ages 19-35 months during 1997; full immunization is defined as four doses of DPT, three or more doses of poliovirus vaccine, one or more doses of any measles-containing vaccine, and three or more doses of Hib vaccine.

* State-to-state comparisons should not be made because of differences in definitions of *child*, differences in data collection periods, and differences in how duplicate reports are handled.

† Persons under age 20

One step for children

Seize the opportunity to make certain America does all it can in 1999 to protect and nurture children

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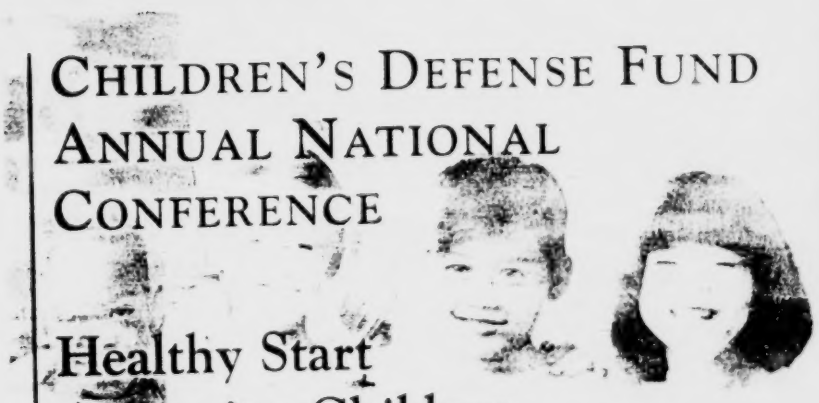

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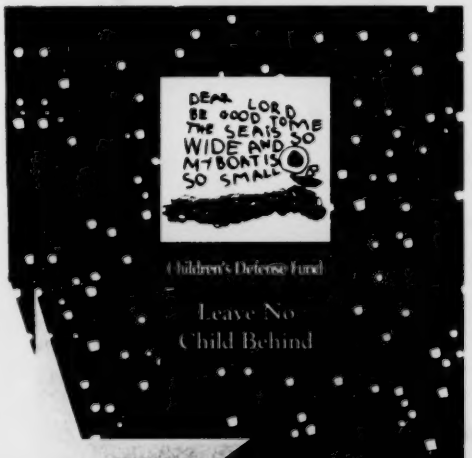

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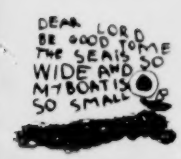

LEAVE NO CHILD BEHIND

Children's Defense Fund

Marian Wright Edelman,
President

CDF Reports

February 1999
Volume 20, Number 2

CDF's nonpartisan congressional voting record

How did Congress act on behalf of children in 1998?

Children are our future, making each child an individual investment in the growth and stability of this nation. Yet, of the 69 million children under age 18, 14.5 million live in poverty. More than 11 million children are without health coverage.

Each day, 8,470 children are reported abused or neglected; 5,388 children are arrested; 3,453 babies are born to unmarried mothers; 2,789 children drop out of high school; 2,162 babies are born into poverty; 787 babies are born at low birthweight; 415 babies are born to mothers who had late or no prenatal care; 78 babies die; 13 children are killed by firearms; 11 children are homicide victims; and six children commit suicide.

What all children—of all religions, all geographic locations, all income groups, and all races—have in common is that they cannot vote. Whether they live in poverty in rural Mississippi or a penthouse condominium on Park Avenue in Manhattan, children are spectators to the electoral process. Alone, they cannot organize to vote, to initiate change, or to express their concerns to their elected representatives in Congress. Children are dependent on the voices of others.

Voices from parents, teachers, youth group advisors, religious leaders of all faiths, Republicans, and Democrats must unite on behalf of children. To help those who want to understand how well their elected officials look out for the needs of children, CDF examines how members of Congress voted over the past year and compiles an annual nonpartisan congressional voting record. CDF focuses on measures protecting children—advancing children's health, safety, education, nutrition, and their family's economic security—as well as those harming children.

1998 began with promise

When the second session of the 105th Congress opened in 1998, advocates throughout the country were invigorated to push for President Clinton's major $22 billion child care initiative. The package combined much-needed increases in the Child Care and Development Block Grant (CCDBG), designed to help working parents afford quality child care, with tax credits for families. It also provided

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How did Congress act on behalf of children in 1998?

(Continued from page 1)

funding for after-school programs and a large increase for Head Start.

As many parents know, in too many communities, child care is often hard to find. Where it is available, the cost of care is too often unaffordable for many families and/or the care is of dubious quality. President Clinton's proposal, along with the scores of bills introduced in the House and the Senate by both Democrats and Republicans, encouraged high hopes among advocates for a bipartisan measure that would provide a significant boost in child care funding.

Unfortunately, what looked promising during the cold winter months was washed away with the spring rain, and by early summer it was clear that there were too many obstacles preventing a major investment in child care.

For the first time in years, Congress failed to approve a budget resolution, which serves as a fiscal management tool for both the House and the Senate. The budget resolution provides members with a fiscal blueprint to follow in considering funding for all areas of the federal budget. Without this blueprint in 1998, the consideration of appropriation bills (funding measures) was delayed and no new initiatives could be considered (including consideration of tax cuts).

In 1997, with a budget resolution and the fiscal discipline and parliamentary leverage it provided, Congress had been able to enact a number of critical bills. Among them was the landmark bipartisan state Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP), which provides $48 billion over 10 years to assist states in providing health coverage for uninsured children. Estimates are that more than 5 million of the 11 million children who are currently uninsured could receive coverage under CHIP.

In 1998, with no budget blueprint and the White House caught up in defending President Clinton, it was difficult for policy to overcome politics so that lawmakers could continue building on the strength of the first session (1997) of the 105th Congress.

Although President Clinton's child care legislation never emerged from committee in the House or the Senate, there were several strong votes in favor of child care in the Senate chamber in 1998. In March, an amendment offered on the Senate floor by Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.) to establish a reserve fund to provide states with money for child care improvements was narrowly defeated by a vote of 50 to 48. In fact, one supporter of the amendment was unavoidably absent from the vote, which would have increased the number supporting the amendment to 51. In most democracies, a majority vote—51 proponents—would mean that an amendment could be adopted. But in the U.S. Senate, 60 votes (out of 100) were needed to waive a procedural rule to enable an actual vote on the amendment.

In June, the Senate considered an amendment by Sens. John Kerry (D-Mass.) and Kit Bond (R-Mo.) to require states receiving money from tobacco settlement legislation to spend half through the Child Care and Development Block Grant (CCDBG). The Kerry-Bond amendment received 66 votes. It was a landmark vote and advocates throughout the country can be proud of the role they played in letting their senators know of the importance of the vote. Unfortunately, the tobacco legislation to which the approved amendment was attached was pulled from consideration on the Senate floor prior to its final passage; despite the strong approval for the Kerry-Bond amendment, the bill never moved forward in the legislative process.

In some cases, the absence of a budget resolution jammed up the Senate floor schedule, which had the effect of precluding a number of bills from floor debate. In some cases that was good news. The Senate failed to pass juvenile crime legislation that, if enacted as originally introduced, would have turned the clock back a quarter-century on juvenile justice. The bill S.10 as originally introduced would have allowed children to be put in adult jails where they could be the victims of abuse, assault, and suicide—just as they were 25 years ago before juvenile justice reforms.

Data show that violent crime by juveniles is declining. We also know that investment in prevention programs can help reduce the likelihood that at-risk teens will engage in criminal activities. Nevertheless, S.10 had no dedicated funding for prevention in its new block grant. It is good news that S.10 was not enacted; only because of the work of so many advocates throughout the country did members receive the message that S.10 was fatally flawed.

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Taking a stand for children in 1999

In 1999, CDF will be working again for a significant funding increase for child care. Parents need reliable, affordable quality child care that allows them to feel safe and secure about their children so they can stay on the job earning wages that support their families. The youngest children need care that will foster their early brain development. Preschool children need the care that will help them get ready for school, ready to learn and succeed in life. Older children need places to go that keep them away from trouble during non-school hours, keep them safe, and help them do well in school. After-school care is critical since statistics show that violent juvenile crime peaks between the hours of 3 p.m. and 7 p.m., when unsupervised school-age children are more likely to engage in risky activities.

CDF will also pursue options to strengthen early childhood development. It is not enough to say that every child should enter school ready to learn. We need to make sure that all children actually enter school ready to learn. And, once children are in school, we need to pursue policies to ensure that they continue learning.

We are close to the new millennium. There is so much to do and so little time. We hope that in 1999, Congress will push partisanship and politics aside to pursue an issue-oriented agenda that places children at the top of the priority list.

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How did Congress act on behalf of children in 1998?

(Continued from page 2)

Key votes for children

Even though there were no landmark bills enacted in 1998, there were a number of significant votes for children. In the House of Representatives, members voted to improve the performance of the child support enforcement system, to assist parents transitioning from welfare to work with housing aid and transportation, and to restore food stamps to legal immigrant families. Members also voted to renew and improve the nation's child nutrition programs and Head Start.

In the Senate, members voted on amendments increasing after-school programs and expanding the number of school dropout prevention programs. Members also approved restoring food stamps to legal immigrant families and enabling more welfare parents to participate in vocational and post-secondary education, which can increase their ability to get better paying jobs to support their families.

While it is heartening that Senate members rejected an amendment that would have reduced funding for juvenile delinquency prevention, it is unfortunate that members also rejected an amendment that would have increased the minimum wage. The proportion of poor children in America living in a family where someone works is growing fast, from 61 percent three years ago to 69 percent today. More parents are employed, but at jobs with below-poverty wages. Raising the pay for low-wage workers is essential to reduce or eliminate child poverty.

In the waning days of the session in late October, members of the House and the Senate approved a 40-pound, nearly 4,000-page "Omnibus Appropriations" bill that combined money for eight funding bills that missed the Oct. 1 fiscal year deadline. This bill included funds for the Departments of Labor; Health and Human Services; Education; Justice; and Agriculture, among other agencies. The measure provided significant increases in funding for Head Start, Early Head Start, child care generally, campus-based child care, quality improvements for child care, children's mental health, the Community Services Block Grant, delinquency prevention, education technology, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), after-school programs, literacy, and efforts to hire more teachers to reduce class size for elementary schoolchildren.

Although overall the omnibus bill was an important step forward in funding for efforts to improve the lives of children, it was disappointing that the legislation also included a 1" percent cut ($390 million) in Title XX, the Social Services Block Grant. Title XX is used in many states for child care, child protection services, adoption assistance, and other services for children.

How CDF compiles the voting record

Each year, CDF compiles a nonpartisan voting record to show how each member of Congress voted and to help parents, child advocates, and others know where their lawmakers stand on important child and family issues—and how best to urge those elected officials to stand for children. We chose the most crucial eight House votes and nine Senate votes from among the many votes affecting children and families in 1998.

The House and Senate have very different rules for considering amendments to a bill. In the House, a small committee controlled by the majority party typically decides which bills will be considered and which, if any, amendments will be debated and voted upon.

In the Senate, there generally is a far broader opportunity to offer amendments since any member can offer any amendment on any subject to any bill (most of the time). For a measure to be included in this voting record, there had to be a recorded vote. Sometimes, when there is fairly broad agreement on a bill, the House or Senate will pass the bill on a "voice vote" or, in some cases, by "unanimous consent." When this occurs, it is not possible to know how each member voted.

Sometimes the list includes a vote on an issue in one chamber of Congress but not the other because only one chamber had a recorded vote, while the other had a voice vote. Often, the key vote on an important issue is not the vote on final passage. In some cases, there will have been amendments to weaken (or strengthen) the bill or motions to prevent consideration of

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Key 1998 Senate votes

1. Child care quality improvements, S.Con.Res. 86

[RCV #52, S.Con.Res. 86, FY99 Budget Resolution/Child Care, 3/31/98] (Reference only)

Far too many children are in poor quality child care throughout the United States in both family child care homes and child care centers. The quality of care can affect a child's emotional and intellectual development. The Senate considered a motion to waive Senate budget rules to adopt an amendment by Sen. Dodd (D-Conn.) that would establish a reserve fund to provide states with money to improve the quality of child care. The motion was *rejected*, 50-48 (R 6-45; D 44-0). *A three-fifths majority vote (60) of the total Senate is required to waive Senate budget rules.* (March 31, 1998)

CDF's position was to vote to waive budget rules to consider the amendment. (Y)

2. After-school programs, H.R. 2646

[RCV #100, H.R. 2646, Expanding Education Savings Accounts, 4/23/98] (Reference only)

Too many of our children are home alone after school, which can lead to risk-taking behavior like smoking, drinking, sex, or crime. After-school programs can offer young children and youths a positive environment to keep them safe and reduce the likelihood of risk-taking behavior. The Senate considered an amendment offered by Sen. Boxer (D-Calif.) to establish a $50 million annual grant program for five years to develop after-school programs. The amendment was *rejected*, 49-51 (R 4-51; D 45-0). (April 23, 1998)

CDF's position was to support the Boxer amendment. (Y)

3. School dropout prevention, H.R. 2646

[RCV #101, H.R. 2646, Expanding Education Savings Accounts, 4/23/98] (Reference only)

In many of our communities, the graduation rate is too low. Completion of high school can lead to better paying jobs and stronger communities. The Senate considered an amendment offered by Sen. Bingaman (D-N.M.) to establish a national grant program to help schools create dropout prevention programs. The amendment was *adopted*, 74-26 (R 30-25; D 44-1). (April 23, 1998)

CDF's position was to support the Bingaman amendment. (Y)

4. Food stamp eligibility for legal immigrants, S. 1150

[RCV #129, S. 1150, Agriculture Research/Conference Report, 5/12/98] (Reference only)

Throughout the country, legal immigrants were denied food stamps under the 1996 welfare law. The Senate adopted the agriculture conference report to renew federal agriculture research and crop insurance programs, which included $818 million over five years to reinstate food stamp eligibility to 250,000 legal immigrants, including children, who lost benefits under the 1996 welfare law. The conference report *passed* by a vote of 92-8 (R 47-8; D 45-0). (May 12, 1998)

CDF's position was to support the conference report. (Y)

5. State Child Care Block Grants, S. 1415

[RCV #157, S. 1415, Tobacco legislation, 6/11/98] (Reference only)

Child care throughout the United States is hard for families to find. For too many families, child care is not affordable. Too often, child care that is available is of dubious quality. The Senate considered a motion to reject an amendment by Sens. Kerry (D-Mass.) and Bond (R-Mo.) that would require states to spend at least 50 percent of the money states receive from the tobacco settlement legislation on the Child Care and Development Block Grant. The Senate failed to kill the amendment by a vote of 33-66 (R 33-21; D 0-45). Moreover, the amendment was subsequently adopted by voice vote. (June 11, 1998)

CDF's position was against killing the amendment. (N)

6. Education for parents receiving welfare/higher wages to support families, S. 1882

[RCV #191, S. 1882, the Higher Education Act, 7/9/98] (Reference only)

A recent CDF study found that a large proportion of parents receiving welfare who find work are employed at below-poverty wages. Post-secondary

(See page 5)

Key 1998 Senate votes

(Continued from page 4)

education or vocational education can lead to higher wages, which can help parents secure more stable jobs and raise their children out of poverty. Sen. Wellstone (D-Minn.) offered an amendment to allow states to count up to two years of post-secondary or vocational education toward work requirements for parents under the 1996 welfare law. Current law allows states to count up to one year of vocational education toward the work requirement. In addition, the amendment would prohibit states from counting teenage parents' education toward the 30 percent education limitation imposed by the 1996 law. In addition, the amendment would prohibit states from counting teenage parents' education toward the cap limiting those in vocational education to only 30 percent of all participants in welfare work activities, as imposed by the 1996 law. The amendment was *adopted* by a vote of 56-42 (R 11-42; D 45-0). (July 22, 1998)

CDF's position was to support the Wellstone amendment. (Y)

7 ■ Juvenile delinquency prevention funding, S. 2260

[RCV # 220, S. 2260, FY99 Commerce, Justice Appropriations, 7/22/98] (Reference only)

Too often it appears that communities are willing to spend funds on the back end once a child has committed a crime, rather than on the front end in prevention efforts so that a child may be less likely to engage in criminal behavior or be the victim of a violent crime (13 children a day are killed by gun violence). The Senate considered a motion to reject the amendment offered by Sen. Sessions (R-Ala.) that would cut $50 million from juvenile delinquency prevention programs to increase funding for juvenile accountability incentive block grants (i.e., prison construction, recordkeeping, and drug testing). The motion to reject the amendment was *approved* by a vote of 64-36 (R 19-36; D 45-0). (July 22, 1998)

CDF's position was to reject the Sessions amendment. (Y)

8 ■ Minimum wage for working families, S. 1301

[RCV #278, S. 1301, Consumer Bankruptcy Revisions, 9/22/98] (Reference only)

The proportion of poor children in America living in a family where someone works is growing fast, from 61 percent three years ago to 69 percent today. More parents are employed, but at jobs with below-poverty wages. Raising the pay of America's low-wage workers is essential to reducing or eliminating child poverty. The Senate considered a motion to reject an amendment from Sen. Kennedy (D-Mass.) that would increase the minimum wage by 50 cents in 1999 and again by 50 cents in 2000, raising it from $5.15 an hour to $6.15 an hour. The amendment was *rejected* by a vote of 55-44 (R 53-2; D 2-42). (September 22, 1998)

CDF's position was against the motion to reject the Kennedy amendment. (N)

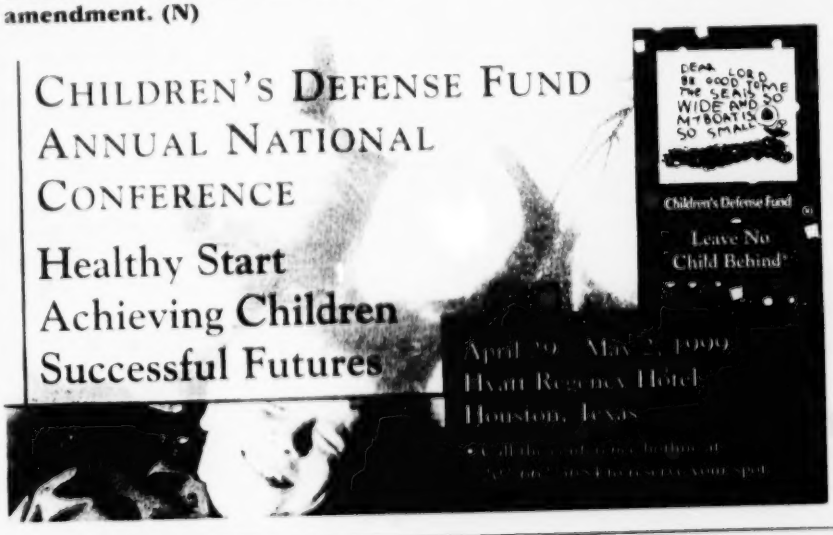
9 ■ Human Services funding, H.R. 4328

[RCV #314, H.R. 4328, Omnibus Appropriations Conference Report, 10/21/98] (Reference only)

The Senate adopted a large multi-agency conference report providing funding to a number of agencies, including the Departments of Labor; Health and Human Services; Education; Justice; and Agriculture. The measure provided significant funding increases for many children's programs, including Head Start, Early Head Start, child care, children's mental health, the Community Services Block Grant, delinquency prevention, education technology, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), after-school programs, literacy, and efforts to hire more teachers to reduce class size for elementary schoolchildren. Although the bill made significant steps forward in many areas, unfortunately, the legislation also included a $390 million cut in Title XX, the Social Services Block Grant. The bill was *approved* 65-29 (R 33-20; D 32-9). (October 21, 1998)

CDF's position was in support of the Omnibus funding bill. (Y)

Y = CDF supported the measure.
N = CDF opposed the measure.



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1998 Voting Record

SENATE

CDF's position	1 Y	2 Y	3 Y	4 Y	5 N	6 Y	7 Y	8 N	9 Y	% '98	% '97
ALABAMA											
Shelby R (R)	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	**33**	**27**
Sessions J (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**	**9**
ALASKA											
Stevens T (R)	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	**56**	**27**
Murkowski F (R)	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	?	**33**	**27**
ARIZONA											
McCain J (R)	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	**44**	**27**
Kyl J (R)	-	-	+	-	-	?	-	-	-	**11**	**27**
ARKANSAS											
Bumpers D (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	**89**	**100**
Hutchinson T (R)	?	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	**22**	**18**
CALIFORNIA											
Feinstein D (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**91**
Boxer B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**100**
COLORADO											
Campbell B (R)	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	**67**	**45**
Allard W (R)	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	**22**	**36**
CONNECTICUT											
Dodd C (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**100**
Lieberman J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**82**
DELAWARE											
Roth W (R)	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	**44**	**36**
Biden J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**91**
FLORIDA											
Graham E (D)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	**89**	**82**
Mack C (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	**22**	**36**
GEORGIA											
Coverdell P (R)	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	**44**	**27**
Cleland M (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**73**
HAWAII											
Inouye D (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	**89**	**100**
Akaka D (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**100**

SENATE

CDF's position	1 Y	2 Y	3 Y	4 Y	5 N	6 Y	7 Y	8 N	9 Y	% '98	% '97
IDAHO											
Craig L (R)	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	**33**	**27**
Kempthorne D (R)	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	**33**	**36**
ILLINOIS											
Moseley-Braun C (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**91**
Durbin R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**100**
INDIANA											
Lugar R (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	**11**	**45**
Coats D (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	**22**	**18**
IOWA											
Grassley C (R)	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	**33**	**36**
Harkin T (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**82**
KANSAS											
Brownback S (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	**22**	**27**
Roberts P (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	**22**	**18**
KENTUCKY											
Ford W (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**64**
McConnell M (R)	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	**33**	**9**
LOUISIANA											
Breaux J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**64**
Landrieu M (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**91**
MAINE											
Snowe O (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	**67**	**55**
Collins S (R)	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	**56**	**45**
MARYLAND											
Sarbanes P (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**100**
Mikulski B (D)	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**89**	**100**
MASSACHUSETTS											
Kennedy E (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**100**
Kerry J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**100**
MICHIGAN											
Levin C (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	**89**	**100**
Abraham S (R)	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	**44**	**36**

SENATE KEY

1 = Child care quality improvements
2 = After-school programs
3 = School dropout prevention
4 = Food stamp eligibility for legal immigrants
5 = State Child Care Block Grants
6 = Education for parents receiving welfare/higher wages to support families
7 = Juvenile delinquency prevention funding
8 = Minimum wage for working families
9 = Human Services funding

% '98 = Number of times voted for CDF position divided by the total number of votes (absences during voting computed as negative votes)
% '97 = 1997 vote rating

Y = CDF supported the measure
N = CDF opposed the measure
\+ = Favorable
\- = Unfavorable
* = Not a member in 1997
? = Did not vote
S = Speaker exercised discretion not to vote
(D) = Democrat
(R) = Republican

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SENATE

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	%	%
CDF's position	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	'98	'97
MINNESOTA											
Wellstone P (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	89	91
Grams R (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	11	18
MISSISSIPPI											
Cochran T (R)	+			+			+		+	44	27
Lott T (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	22	27
MISSOURI											
Bond C (R)	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	56	36
Ashcroft J (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	11	9
MONTANA											
Baucus M (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	89	82
Burns C (R)	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	44	27
NEBRASKA											
Kerrey B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	89	91
Hagel C (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	22	27
NEVADA											
Reid H (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	89	100
Bryan R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	91
NEW HAMPSHIRE											
Smith R (R)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	9
Gregg J (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	22	27
NEW JERSEY											
Lautenberg F (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
Torricelli R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
NEW MEXICO											
Domenici P (R)	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	44	27
Bingaman J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
NEW YORK											
Moynihan D (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	89	82
D'Amato A (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	73
NORTH CAROLINA											
Helms J (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	0	9
Faircloth L (R)	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	56	18
NORTH DAKOTA											
Conrad K (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
Dorgan B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
OHIO											
Glenn J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	78	100
DeWine M (R)	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	33	45
OKLAHOMA											
Nickles D (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	27
Inhofe J (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	9

SENATE

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	%	%
CDF's position	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	'98	'97
OREGON											
Wyden R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
Smith G (R)	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	44	45
PENNSYLVANIA											
Specter A (R)	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	78	91
Santorum R (R)	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	22	27
RHODE ISLAND											
Chafee J (R)	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	67	82
Reed J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
SOUTH CAROLINA											
Thurmond S (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	22	18
Hollings E (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	78	91
SOUTH DAKOTA											
Daschle T (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
Johnson T (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
TENNESSEE											
Thompson F (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	22	27
Frist B (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	22	27
TEXAS											
Gramm P (R)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	18
Hutchison K (R)	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	56	27
UTAH											
Hatch O (R)	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	56	45
Bennett R (R)	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	56	36
VERMONT											
Leahy P (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
Jeffords J (R)	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	78	73
VIRGINIA											
Warner J (R)	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	67	27
Robb C (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	82
WASHINGTON											
Gorton S (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	33	18
Murray P (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
WEST VIRGINIA											
Byrd R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	89	82
Rockefeller J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	91
WISCONSIN											
Kohl H (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	89	82
Feingold R (D)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	78	100
WYOMING											
Thomas C (R)	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	22	27
Enzi M (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	11	27

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Key 1998 House votes

1. Child support enforcement, H.R. 3130

[RCV #39, H.R. 3130, Child Support Performance, 3/5/98] (Reference only)

The House approved legislation to create a new federal incentive system to reward states that do a good job establishing paternity and child support orders and collecting current and back support. This is important because under the old law incentives were paid to states based only on how cost-effective their programs were, not whether they achieved results that helped children. The bill also establishes a new alternative penalty for states failing to meet the Oct. 1, 1997, deadline to establish computer networks to make child support enforcement more efficient and effective. The bill *passed* by a vote of 414-1 (R 218-1; D 195-0). (March 5, 1998)

CDF's position was in support of the legislation. (Y)

2. Welfare-to-work transportation assistance, H.R. 2400

[RCV #94, H.R. 2400, Surface Transportation Reauthorization, 4/1/98] (Reference only)

Studies have found that a major barrier to employment is inadequate transportation for parents receiving welfare. Very few parents on welfare have cars. Unless transportation is available and affordable, it is difficult to obtain and maintain employment. The House considered an amendment offered by Rep. Davis (D-Ill.) to increase funding from $42 million to $150 million per year for a new welfare-to-work transportation program, which would finance state efforts to assist low-income parents in getting to and from work and job-related activities. The amendment was *approved* by a vote of 242-175 (R 48-171; D 193-4). (April 1, 1998)

CDF's position was in support of the Davis amendment. (Y)

3. Food stamp eligibility for legal immigrants, S. 1150

[RCV #204, S. 1150, Agriculture Research/Conference Report, 6/4/98] (Reference only)

Throughout the country, legal immigrants were denied food stamps under the 1996 welfare law. The House adopted the agriculture conference report to renew federal agriculture research and crop insurance programs, which also included $818 million over five years to reinstate food stamp eligibility to 250,000 legal immigrants, including children, who had lost benefits under the 1996 welfare law. The conference report *passed* by a vote of 364-50 (R 170-48; D 193-2). (June 4, 1998)

CDF's position was in support of the conference report. (Y)

4. Welfare-to-work housing assistance, H.R. 4194

[RCV #295, H.R. 4194, FY99 VA/HUD Appropriations, 7/17/98] (Reference only)

Of all the families throughout the United States who receive welfare assistance, only a small percentage also receive housing assistance. Waiting lists for housing assistance are long in many communities. Families on welfare may be eligible for assistance, but funding is insufficient to enable all those who are eligible to actually receive help. The House considered an amendment by Rep. Stokes (D-Ohio) to increase funding by $97 million for new Section 8 housing vouchers for families transitioning from welfare to work. The amendment was *rejected* by a vote of 201-215 (R 14-209; D 186-6). (July 17, 1998)

CDF's position was in support of the Stokes amendment. (Y)

5. Child nutrition programs, H.R. 3874

[RCV #297, H.R. 3874, Nutrition Program Reauthorization, 7/20/98] (Reference only)

The House approved legislation to renew and improve the Women, Infants, and Children's (WIC) nutrition program, the School Lunch program, the School Breakfast program, the Child and Adult Care Food program (CACFP), and the national summer food program for children. The measure expands CACFP by serving older low-income teens in after-school programs. The bill was *approved* by a vote of 383-1 (R 210-1; D 172-0). (July 20, 1998)

CDF's position was in support of the legislation. (Y)

(See page 9)

Y = CDF supported the measure.
N = CDF opposed the measure.

Key 1998 House votes

(Continued from page 8)

6. Juvenile crime prevention programs, H.R. 4276

[RCV 385, H.R. 4276, FY99 Commerce, Justice Appropriations, 8/4/98] (Reference only)

The House considered an amendment offered by Rep. Scott (D-Va.) to transfer $105 million from prison "truth-in-sentencing" incentive grants to crime prevention programs such as the Boys & Girls Clubs. The amendment was *rejected* by a vote of 149-271 (R 12-210; D 136-61). (August 4, 1998)

CDF's position was in support of the Scott amendment. (Y)

7. Head Start, LIHEAP, and Community Services Block Grant funding, S. 2206

[RCV 426, S. 2206, Human Services Reauthorization, 9/14/98] (Reference only)

The House approved legislation to renew several human services programs, including Head Start, the Community Services Block Grant (CSBG), and the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP). The bill was *approved* by a vote of 346-20 (R 185-20; D 160-0). (September 14, 1998)

CDF's position was in support of the legislation. (Y)

8. Human Services funding, H.R. 4328

[RCV #538, H.R. 4328, the Omnibus Appropriations Conference Report, 10/20/98] (Reference only)

The House adopted a large multi-agency conference report providing funding to a number of agencies, including the Departments of Labor; Health and Human Services; Education; Justice; and Agriculture. The measure provided significant increases in funding for Head Start, Early Head Start, child care, children's mental health, adoption assistance, foster care, the Community Services Block Grant, delinquency prevention, education technology, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), after-school programs, literacy, and efforts to hire more teachers to reduce class size for elementary schoolchildren. The bill was *approved* by a vote of 333-95 (R 162-64; D 170-31). (October 20, 1998)

CDF's position was in support of the Omnibus funding bill. (Y)

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How did Congress act on behalf of children in 1998?

(Continued from page 3)

the merits of the bill. As a result, while some of the votes listed here may appear to be technical, these votes were the key ones affecting the ultimate resolution of the issue. For example, the outcome on a motion to waive a "point of order" against an amendment or a bill, or to secure the end ("cloture") of debate, is often decisive. Because these motions can only pass if 60 senators support them, failure to secure 60 votes often determines the fate of the underlying bill or amendment (as was the case with the Dodd child care amendment, which received 50 votes but was nevertheless defeated).

Judging a lawmaker's record on children

CDF compiles this voting record as part of its ongoing lobbying activities for children. The scores are not to be taken as an endorsement of any candidate. Members of Congress take other actions, in addition to their votes, that affect children in important ways.

Some develop and sponsor good legislation and work tirelessly to enact it. Some members regularly speak out for children in committees and on the floor, providing the leadership that America's children need. All members cast votes in committees that have a significant impact on children.

All of these actions provide a basis for evaluating your elected officials' commitment to children.

Children need every vote they can get

Senators and representatives may miss a crucial vote affecting children for many reasons, some unavoidable. CDF counts a missed vote as a vote against because children need every possible vote, every time.

Particularly where a member has multiple missed votes, the member's voting record for the previous year may be an important additional guide to the member's record on children's issues. As such, this record includes voting scores from 1997 to help you see more than one year of your senators' and representative's votes.

The information about how members voted on each bill that CDF selected comes from CQ Washington Alert, an automated legislative database, and is based on the *Congressional Quarterly*'s record of the votes.

1998 Voting Record

HOUSE

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	%	%
CDF's position	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	'98	'97
ALABAMA										
1 Callahan S (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	44
2 Everett T (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	44
3 Riley B (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	33
4 Aderholt R (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	44
5 Cramer R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	88	56
6 Bachus S (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	?	-	38	44
7 Hilliard E (D)	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	88	89
ALASKA										
AL Young D (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	33
ARIZONA										
1 Salmon M (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	38	33
2 Pastor E (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
3 Stump B (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	25	33
4 Shadegg J (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	50	44
5 Kolbe J (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	56
6 Hayworth J (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	56
ARKANSAS										
1 Berry M (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	88	89
2 Snyder V (D)	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	88	100
3 Hutchinson A (R)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	75	44
4 Dickey J (R)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	75	33
CALIFORNIA										
1 Riggs F (R)	+	-	+	-	?	-	?	-	25	56
2 Herger W (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	50	44
3 Fazio V (D)	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	?	75	100
4 Doolittle J (R)	?	-	-	?	+	-	-	+	25	22
5 Matsui R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
6 Woolsey L (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
7 Miller G (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	88	100
8 Pelosi N (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	88	100
9 Lee B (D)	1	1	+	+	+	+	+	-	83	*
10 Tauscher E (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	88	78
11 Pombo R (R)	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	63	22
12 Lantos T (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
13 Stark P (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	88	78
14 Eshoo A (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
15 Campbell T (R)	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	75	78
16 Lofgren Z (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89

HOUSE

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	%	%
CDF's position	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	'98	'97
17 Farr S (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
18 Condit G (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	88	67
19 Radanovich G (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	50	33
20 Dooley C (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	67
21 Thomas B (R)	?	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	50	56
22 Capps L (D)	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
23 Gallegly E (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	56
24 Sherman B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	67
25 McKeon H (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	44
26 Berman H (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
27 Rogan J (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	56
28 Dreier D (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	?	+	50	44
29 Waxman H (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	88	89
30 Becerra X (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
31 Martinez M (D)	+	+	?	+	+	-	+	+	75	100
32 Dixon J (D)	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	88	100
33 Roybal-Allard L (D)	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	75	100
34 Torres E (D)	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	88	100
35 Waters M (D)	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	88	89
36 Harman J (D)	?	+	?	?	+	-	?	+	38	67
37 Millender-McDonald J (D)	+	+	+	?	?	?	+	+	63	100
38 Horn S (R)	+	+	+	-	?	-	+	+	63	56
39 Royce E (R)	+	?	-	-	+	-	-	-	25	22
40 Lewis J (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	44
41 Kim J (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	56
42 Brown G (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
43 Calvert K (R)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	75	44
44 Bono M (R)	1	1	+	-	+	-	+	+	67	*
45 Rohrabacher D (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	38	22
46 Sanchez L (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
47 Cox C (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	33
48 Packard R (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	44
49 Bilbray B (R)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	63	56
50 Filner B (D)	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	-	75	56
51 Cunningham R (R)	+	-	+	-	+	?	+	+	63	56
52 Hunter D (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	50	44
COLORADO										
1 DeGette D (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	88	100
2 Skaggs D (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	88	100
3 McInnis S (R)	+	-	+	-	+	?	+	+	63	44
4 Schaffer B (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	50	44

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Y = CDF supported the measure
N = CDF opposed the measure
+ = Favorable
- = Unfavorable
* = Not a member in 1997
? = Did not vote
S = Speaker exercised discretion not to vote
(D) = Democrat
(R) = Republican
AL = At large

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

HOUSE

CDF's position	1 Y	2 Y	3 Y	4 Y	5 Y	6 Y	7 Y	8 Y	% '98	% '97
5 Hefley J (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	38	33
6 Schaefer D (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	50	44
CONNECTICUT										
1 Kennelly B (D)	+	+	+	?	+	-	?	+	63	100
2 Gejdenson S (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	88	100
3 DeLauro R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	88	78
4 Shays C (R)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	63	56
5 Maloney J (D)	+	+	+	+	?	-	?	+	63	67
6 Johnson N (R)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	75	56
DELAWARE										
AL Castle M (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	50	56
FLORIDA										
1 Scarborough J (R)	+	?	-	-	+	-	-	-	25	22
2 Boyd A (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	75	67
3 Brown C (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	88	100
4 Fowler T (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	56
5 Thurman K (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	75	100
6 Stearns C (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	25	44
7 Mica J (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	50	22
8 McCollum B (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	44
9 Bilirakis M (R)	?	-	+	-	?	-	+	+	38	56
10 Young C (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	?	+	50	44
11 Davis J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
12 Canady C (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	56
13 Miller D (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	25	44
14 Goss P (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	+	38	56
15 Weldon D (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	38	22
16 Foley M (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	56
17 Meek C (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	88	100
18 Ros-Lehtinen I (R)	+	?	?	+	?	-	?	+	38	56
19 Wexler R (D)	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	75	78
20 Deutsch P (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	88	78
21 Diaz-Balart L (R)	+	-	+	+	?	-	+	+	63	56
22 Shaw E (R)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	75	56
23 Hastings A (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	?	+	75	89
GEORGIA										
1 Kingston J (R)	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	63	33
2 Bishop S (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
3 Collins M (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	25	33
4 McKinney C (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	67
5 Lewis J (D)	+	+	?	?	?	+	?	+	50	100
6 Gingrich N (R)	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	+	13	11
7 Barr B (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	-	25	33
8 Chambliss S (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	56
9 Deal N (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	25	44
10 Norwood C (R)	+	-	+	-	?	-	+	+	50	33
11 Linder J (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	44
HAWAII										
1 Abercrombie N (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
2 Mink P (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
IDAHO										
1 Chenoweth H (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	33
2 Crapo M (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	?	+	50	33

HOUSE

CDF's position	1 Y	2 Y	3 Y	4 Y	5 Y	6 Y	7 Y	8 Y	% '98	% '97
ILLINOIS										
1 Rush B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	88	78
2 Jackson J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
3 Lipinski W (D)	+	+	+	+	?	-	+	+	75	67
4 Gutierrez L (D)	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	88	56
5 Blagojevich R (D)	+	+	+	+	?	-	+	+	75	78
6 Hyde H (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	50	56
7 Davis D (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
8 Crane P (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	25	33
9 Yates S (D)	+	+	?	+	+	?	?	-	50	78
10 Porter J (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	56
11 Weller J (R)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	75	56
12 Costello J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	75	67
13 Fawell H (R)	+	+	+	-	?	-	+	+	63	56
14 Hastert D (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	56
15 Ewing T (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	56
16 Manzullo D (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	-	25	22
17 Evans L (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	?	+	75	100
18 LaHood R (R)	+	+	+	-	+	-	?	-	50	33
19 Poshard G (D)	?	+	+	+	?	-	?	?	38	78
20 Shimkus J (R)	?	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	56
INDIANA										
1 Visclosky P (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
2 McIntosh D (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	38	22
3 Roemer T (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	88	67
4 Souder M (R)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	75	56
5 Buyer S (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	44
6 Burton D (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	44
7 Pease E (R)	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	75	56
8 Hostettler J (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	38	56
9 Hamilton L (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
10 Carson J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	88	100
IOWA										
1 Leach J (R)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	88	44
2 Nussle J (R)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	75	44
3 Boswell L (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	88	78
4 Ganske G (R)	?	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	50	56
5 Latham T (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	56
KANSAS										
1 Moran J (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	33
2 Ryun J (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	?	+	50	22
3 Snowbarger V (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	22
4 Tiahrt T (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	+	38	22
KENTUCKY										
1 Whitfield E (R)	+	-	+	-	?	-	+	+	50	56
2 Lewis R (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	56
3 Northup A (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	44
4 Bunning J (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	56
5 Rogers H (R)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	75	56
6 Baesler S (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	88	44
LOUISIANA										
1 Livingston R (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	63	44
2 Jefferson W (D)	+	?	+	+	?	+	?	+	63	100
3 Tauzin W (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	?	+	50	56

1998 Voting Record

HOUSE

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	%	%
CDF's position	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	'98	'97
LOUISIANA (cont.)										
4 McCrery J (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	44
5 Cooksey J (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	56
6 Baker R (R)	+		+		?		+	+	50	44
7 John C (D)	+	+	+	?	?		+	+	63	56
MAINE										
1 Allen T (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
2 Baldacci J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
MARYLAND										
1 Gilchrest W (R)	+	+	+		+		+	+	75	56
2 Ehrlich R (R)	+		+		?		+	+	50	44
3 Cardin B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		88	78
4 Wynn A (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
5 Hoyer S (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
6 Bartlett R (R)	+	+	?		+		+		50	44
7 Cummings E (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
8 Morella C (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
MASSACHUSETTS										
1 Olver J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
2 Neal R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	88	100
3 McGovern J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
4 Frank B (D)	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	88	67
5 Meehan M (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	88	100
6 Tierney J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
7 Markey E (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
8 Kennedy J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	88	89
9 Moakley J (D)	+	+	+	?	+	?	?	+	63	78
10 Delahunt B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
MICHIGAN										
1 Stupak B (D)	+	+	+	–	+		+		63	89
2 Hoekstra P (R)	+		+		+		+		50	33
3 Ehlers V (R)	+	+	+		+		+		63	89
4 Camp D (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	56
5 Barcia J (D)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	88	78
6 Upton F (R)	+	+	+		+		+		63	56
7 Smith N (R)	+	?	+		+		+		50	56
8 Stabenow D (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	88	89

HOUSE

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	%	%
CDF's position	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	'98	'97
9 Kildee D (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
10 Bonior D (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
11 Knollenberg J (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	44
12 Levin S (D)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	88	89
13 Rivers L (D)	+	+	+	+	+		+		75	100
14 Conyers J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	88	78
15 Kilpatrick C (D)	?	+	+	+	?	?	?	+	50	89
16 Dingell J (D)	?	+	+	+	+		?	+	63	78
MINNESOTA										
1 Gutknecht G (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	44
2 Minge D (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	?		75	89
3 Ramstad J (R)	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	88	56
4 Vento B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
5 Sabo M (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
6 Luther W (D)	?	+	+	+	+	+	+		75	78
7 Peterson C (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		88	44
8 Oberstar J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	88	89
MISSISSIPPI										
1 Wicker R (R)	+		+		+	+	+	+	75	44
2 Thompson B (D)	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	88	100
3 Pickering C (R)	+		+		+	?	?	+	50	44
4 Parker M (R)	+		+	?	+		+	+	63	44
5 Taylor G (D)	+			+	+		+		50	33
MISSOURI										
1 Clay W (D)	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	88	44
2 Talent J (R)	+		?		+		+	+	50	33
3 Gephardt R (D)	+	+	+	+	?		+	+	75	78
4 Skelton I (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	44
5 McCarthy K (D)	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	75	100
6 Danner P (D)	+	+	+	+	?		?	+	63	67
7 Blunt R (R)	+				+		+	+	50	22
8 Emerson J (R)	+	+	+		+		+	+	75	56
9 Hulshof K (R)	+	+	+		+		+	+	75	56
MONTANA										
AL Hill R (R)	+		+	?	+		+	+	63	44

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(R) = Republican
AL = At large

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

1998 Voting Record

HOUSE

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NEBRASKA										
1 Bereuter D (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	56
2 Christensen J (R)	+		+		+		+		50	56
3 Barrett B (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	56
NEVADA										
1 Ensign J (R)	+	+		+	+	+	+		75	67
2 Gibbons J (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	56
NEW HAMPSHIRE										
1 Sununu J (R)	+				+		+	+	50	56
2 Bass C (R)	+				+		+	+	50	56
NEW JERSEY										
1 Andrews R (D)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	88	56
2 LoBiondo F (R)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	88	56
3 Saxton J (R)	+				+			+	38	56
4 Smith C (R)	+	+	+	+	+		+		75	56
5 Roukema M (R)	+				+		+		38	67
6 Pallone F (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
7 Franks B (R)	+	+	+		+		+	+	75	67
8 Pascrell B (D)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	88	78
9 Rothman S (D)	+	+	+	+	+			+	75	78
10 Payne D (D)	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	88	89
11 Frelinghuysen R (R)	+		+		+		+		50	56
12 Pappas M (R)	+	+			+		+		50	56
13 Menendez R (D)	+	+	+	+			+	+	75	89
NEW MEXICO										
1 Wilson H (R)	I	I	I		+		+	+	60	*
2 Skeen J (R)	+	+	+		+		+	+	75	44
3 Redmond B (R)	+	+	+		+		+	+	75	100
NEW YORK										
1 Forbes M (R)	+	+	+		+		+	+	75	44
2 Lazio R (R)	+	+	+		+		+	+	75	56
3 King P (R)	+		+		+		+		50	56
4 McCarthy C (D)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	88	78
5 Ackerman G (D)	+	+	+	+		+		+	75	89
6 Meeks G (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	88	*
7 Manton T (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
8 Nadler J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	88	78
9 Schumer C (D)	+	+	+	+	+			+	75	78
10 Towns E (D)	+	+	+	+				+	63	89
11 Owens M (D)	+	+	+	+		+		+	75	89
12 Velazquez N (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	88	89
13 Fossella V (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	100
14 Maloney C (D)	+	+	+	+		+		+	75	89
15 Rangel C (D)	+		+	+	+	+		+	75	89
16 Serrano J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
17 Engel E (D)	+	+		+	+	+		+	75	67
18 Lowey N (D)	+	+	+	+	+			+	75	78
19 Kelly S (R)	+	+	+		+		+	+	75	56
20 Gilman B (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	56
21 McNulty M (D)	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	88	78
22 Solomon G (R)	+				+		+	+	50	56

HOUSE

CDF's position	1 Y	2 Y	3 Y	4 Y	5 Y	6 Y	7 Y	8 Y	% '98	% '97
23 Boehlert S (R)	+	+	+		+		+	+	75	56
24 McHugh J (R)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	88	56
25 Walsh J (R)	+	+	+				+	+	63	56
26 Hinchey M (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
27 Paxon B (R)	+		+				+	+	50	33
28 Slaughter L (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
29 LaFalce J (D)	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	88	100
30 Quinn J (R)		+	+	+	+		+	+	75	44
31 Houghton A (R)	+	+	+		+		+	+	75	33
NORTH CAROLINA										
1 Clayton E (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	88	100
2 Etheridge B (D)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	88	67
3 Jones W (R)	+		+		+		+		50	33
4 Price D (D)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	88	89
5 Burr R (R)	+				+		+		38	33
6 Coble H (R)	+		+						25	22
7 McIntyre M (D)	+	+	+	+	+			+	75	67
8 Hefner W (D)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	88	44
9 Myrick S (R)	+				+		+	+	50	56
10 Ballenger C (R)	+		+		+		+		50	33
11 Taylor C (R)	+		+		+			+	50	44
12 Watt M (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	88	89
NORTH DAKOTA										
AL Pomeroy E (D)	+	+	+	+			+	+	75	100
OHIO										
1 Chabot S (R)	+				+		+		38	33
2 Portman R (R)	+		+		+		+		50	56
3 Hall T (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
4 Oxley M (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	44
5 Gillmor P (R)	+	+	+		+		+	+	75	44
6 Strickland T (D)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	88	100
7 Hobson D (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	56
8 Boehner J (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	44
9 Kaptur M (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		88	56
10 Kucinich D (D)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	88	67
11 Stokes L (D)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	88	89
12 Kasich J (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	56
13 Brown S (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
14 Sawyer T (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
15 Pryce D (R)	+				+				25	56
16 Regula R (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	56
17 Traficant J (D)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	88	56
18 Ney B (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	56
19 LaTourette S (R)	+		+		+	+	+	+	75	56
OKLAHOMA										
1 Largent S (R)	+				+		+		38	22
2 Coburn T (R)	+				+				25	22
3 Watkins W (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	44
4 Watts J (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	67
5 Istook E (R)	+				+				25	22
6 Lucas F (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	56

HOUSE

CDF's position	1 Y	2 Y	3 Y	4 Y	5 Y	6 Y	7 Y	8 Y	% '98	% '97
OREGON										
1 Furse E (D)	+	+	/	+	+	+	/	+	75	100
2 Smith B (R)	+	+	+	-	+		+	+	75	33
3 Blumenauer E (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	/		75	78
4 DeFazio P (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		88	78
5 Hooley D (D)	+	+	+	+	+		/	+	75	78
PENNSYLVANIA										
1 Brady R (D)	1	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	*
2 Fattah C (D)	+	+	+	+	/	+	+	+	88	100
3 Borski R (D)	+	+	+		+		+	+	75	67
4 Klink R (D)	/	+	+		+	+	/		50	89
5 Peterson J (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	56
6 Holden T (D)	+	+	+		+		+		63	78
7 Weldon C (R)	+	+	+		+		+		63	44
8 Greenwood J (R)	+				+	+	+	+	63	56
9 Shuster B (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	56
10 McDade J (R)	+		/		/	/	/	+	25	56
11 Kanjorski P (D)	+	+	+	+	+		+		75	89
12 Murtha J (D)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	88	89
13 Fox J (R)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	88	56
14 Coyne W (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
15 McHale P (D)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	88	78
16 Pitts J (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	56
17 Gekas G (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	56
18 Doyle M (D)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	88	89
19 Goodling B (R)	+		+	-	+		+	+	63	44
20 Mascara F (D)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	88	89
21 English P (R)	+	+	+	+	+		/	+	75	56
RHODE ISLAND										
1 Kennedy P (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
2 Weygand B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
SOUTH CAROLINA										
1 Sanford M (R)	+				+			-	25	33
2 Spence F (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	56
3 Graham L (R)	+		+		+		+		50	33
4 Inglis B (R)	+		+		+		+		50	33
5 Spratt J (D)	+	/	+	+	+		+	+	75	89
6 Clyburn J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100

HOUSE

CDF's position	1 Y	2 Y	3 Y	4 Y	5 Y	6 Y	7 Y	8 Y	% '98	% '97
SOUTH DAKOTA										
AL Thune J (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	56
TENNESSEE										
1 Jenkins B (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	56
2 Duncan J (R)	+		+		+	+			50	67
3 Wamp Z (R)	+		+		+		+		50	33
4 Hilleary V (R)	+		+		/		+	+	50	22
5 Clement B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
6 Gordon B (D)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	88	67
7 Bryant E (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	33
8 Tanner J (D)	+	+	+	/	+		+	+	75	67
9 Ford H (D)	+	+	+	/	/	+	+	+	75	100
TEXAS										
1 Sandlin M (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
2 Turner J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
3 Johnson S (R)	+				+		+		38	33
4 Hall R (D)	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	88	67
5 Sessions P (R)	+		+		+		/	+	50	44
6 Barton J (R)	+			/	+		+		38	22
7 Archer B (R)	+				+		+	+	50	33
8 Brady K (R)	+				+		+	-	38	33
9 Lampson N (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
10 Doggett L (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	/		75	100
11 Edwards C (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	67
12 Granger K (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	56
13 Thornberry W (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	44
14 Paul R (R)									0	22
15 Hinojosa R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
16 Reyes S (D)	+	+	/	+	/	+	+	+	75	67
17 Stenholm C (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	67
18 Jackson-Lee S (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
19 Combest L (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	33
20 Gonzalez H (D)	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	+	13	67
21 Smith L (R)	+	+	+		+		+	+	75	56
22 DeLay T (R)	+				+			+	38	44
23 Bonilla H (R)	+		+		+		+	+	63	33
24 Frost M (D)	+	+	+	+	/	+	+	+	88	78
25 Bentsen K (D)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	88	78
26 Armey D (R)	+		+	-	+	-	+	+	63	33

HOUSE KEY

1 = Child support enforcement
2 = Welfare-to-work transportation assistance
3 = Food stamp eligibility for legal immigrants
4 = Welfare-to-work housing assistance
5 = Child nutrition programs
6 = Juvenile crime prevention programs
7 = Head Start, LIHEAP, and Community Services Block Grant funding
8 = Human Services funding

% '98 = Number of times voted for CDF position divided by the total number of votes (absences during voting computed as negative votes)
% '97 = 1997 vote rating

Y = CDF supported the measure
N = CDF opposed the measure
+ = Favorable
- = Unfavorable
* = Not a member in 1997
/ = Did not vote
S = Speaker exercised discretion not to vote
(D) = Democrat
(R) = Republican
AL = At large

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HOUSE

CDF's position	1 Y	2 Y	3 Y	4 Y	5 Y	6 Y	7 Y	8 Y	% '98	% '97
27 Ortiz S (D)	+	+	+	/	/	-	+	+	**75**	**78**
28 Rodriguez C (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**78**
29 Green G (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	/	+	**88**	**78**
30 Johnson E (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**89**
UTAH										
1 Hansen J (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	/	/	**38**	**44**
2 Cook M (R)	+	-	+	-	/	-	/	+	**38**	**56**
3 Cannon C (R)	+	/	-	-	+	-	+	+	**50**	**44**
VERMONT										
AL Sanders B (Independent)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**89**
VIRGINIA										
1 Bateman H (R)	+	-	/	-	+	-	+	+	**50**	**33**
2 Pickett O (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**78**
3 Scott R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**89**
4 Sisisky N (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**67**
5 Goode V (D)	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	**38**	**33**
6 Goodlatte R (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	**50**	**33**
7 Bliley T (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	**50**	**44**
8 Moran J (D)	+	+	/	+	+	+	+	+	**88**	**78**
9 Boucher R (D)	+	+	+	+	/	-	+	+	**75**	**67**
10 Wolf F (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	**50**	**56**
11 Davis T (R)	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	**88**	**56**
WASHINGTON										
1 White R (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	**50**	**44**
2 Metcalf J (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	**63**	**44**

HOUSE

CDF's position	1 Y	2 Y	3 Y	4 Y	5 Y	6 Y	7 Y	8 Y	% '98	% '97
3 Smith L (R)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	**63**	**44**
4 Hastings R (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	**63**	**33**
5 Nethercutt G (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	**63**	**44**
6 Dicks N (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**78**
7 McDermott J (D)	/	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	**75**	**78**
8 Dunn J (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	**63**	**56**
9 Smith A (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	**75**	**78**
WEST VIRGINIA										
1 Mollohan A (D)	+	+	/	+	+	+	+	/	**75**	**89**
2 Wise B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	**88**	**100**
3 Rahall N (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**89**
WISCONSIN										
1 Neumann M (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	**38**	**33**
2 Klug S (R)	+	/	+	-	+	-	+	-	**50**	**44**
3 Kind R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	**88**	**78**
4 Kleczka J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	**88**	**78**
5 Barrett T (D)	+	+	+	+	/	+	+	-	**75**	**100**
6 Petri T (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	**50**	**67**
7 Obey D (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	**100**	**89**
8 Johnson J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	**88**	**89**
9 Sensenbrenner F (R)	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	**25**	**44**
WYOMING										
AL Cubin B (R)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	**63**	**33**

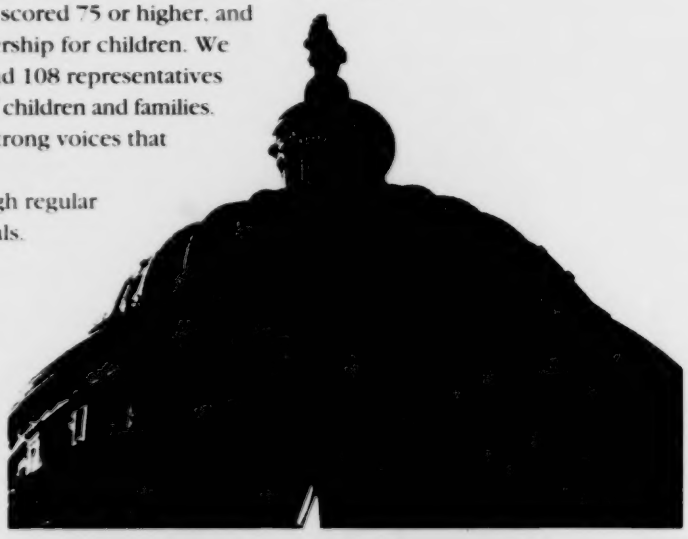
Take action for children now

CDF hopes that every parent, grandparent, educator, health care or child care provider, child advocate, and individual who cares about children will take time to review the votes and issues contained in this record.

We applaud the 44 senators and 226 representatives who scored 75 or higher, and we hope you will thank them and urge their continued leadership for children. We also hope you will educate and encourage the 51 senators and 108 representatives who scored less than 60 to be more responsive to the needs of children and families.

Many of the accomplishments in 1998 depended on the strong voices that you provided for children. In 1999, please

- Continue to demonstrate your concern for children through regular telephone calls, letters, and visits to all your elected officials.
- Let lawmakers know about the problems and needs of children and families in your community.
- Urge them to come and see for themselves what children and families are facing in your community, and tell them what you expect them to do about those problems and needs.
- Insist that they act to ensure that no child is left behind.



One step for children

Check the voting record of your representative and senators. Thank them if they voted with children in mind. If they didn't, urge them to do better this year.

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CDF Reports

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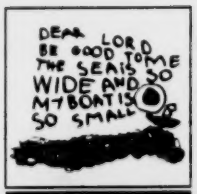

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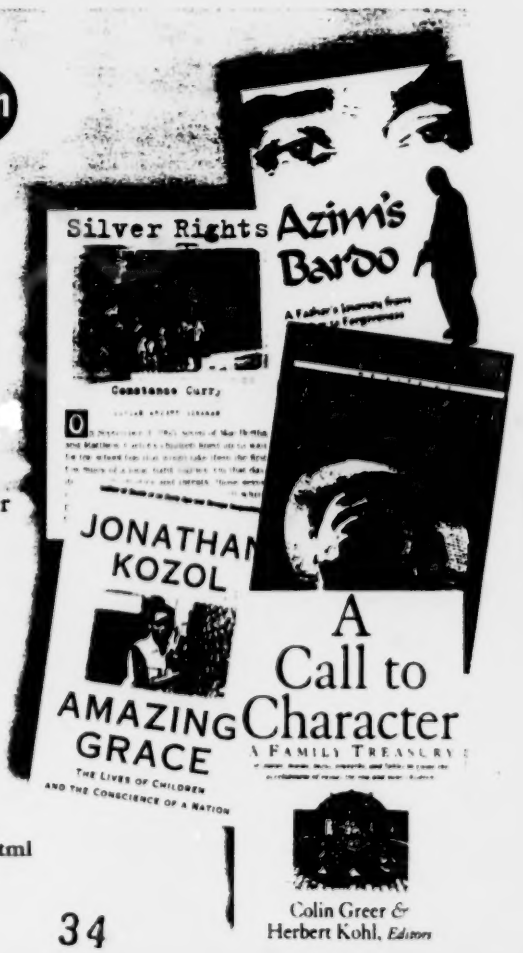

Take a look at the BookNook!

CDF's new online bookstore showcases books of special interest to child advocates, and it serves as an electronic gateway to all of barnesandnoble.com's books, magazines, music, videos, and software.

CDF and online bookseller barnesandnoble.com have partnered to offer Web visitors a special selection of books endorsed by CDF President Marian Wright Edelman.

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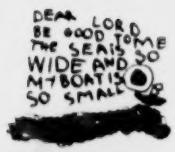

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Children's Defense Fund®

Marian Wright Edelman,
President

CDF Reports

March 1999
Volume 20, Number 3

New report highlights recent state child care developments

Although investments in child care and pre-kindergarten have increased in a number of states, not all are offering the help and the hope that working families need, according to the findings of CDF's *State Developments in Child Care and Early Education: Highlights and Updates for 1998*.

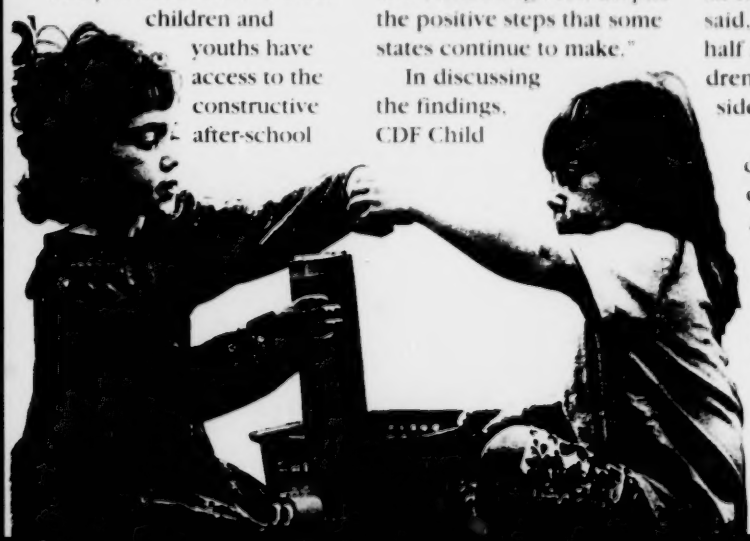
The new report, released in late February, shows that much work remains to be done to ensure that America's young children enter school ready to succeed, that older children and youths have access to the constructive after-school activities they need to stay in school and be safe, and that parents who are working hard to lift their families out of poverty can remain independent.

"Even with increased spending in the current fiscal year, large numbers of eligible families cannot access child care assistance, and there are still severe shortfalls in the quality of care," the report says. "Our existing child care investments come nowhere near meeting the needs of families, children, and caregivers, despite the positive steps that some states continue to make."

In discussing the findings, CDF Child Care Division Director Helen Blank, the report's co-author, stressed that the gaps are having a dire impact not only on parents' ability to support their families but also on children's overall well-being, intellectual development, and education potential. "All the latest research shows that there is a critical window of opportunity for child brain development between birth and age 3," said Blank. Meeting the child care needs of children during this time is all the more important, she said, given that more than half of mothers with children under age 3 work outside the home.

Because older children also need quality care and programming after school if they are to reach their full potential, parents who need to work must be able to go to their jobs each day secure in the knowledge that their children, no matter their age, are well-

(See page 2)



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New report highlights recent state child care developments

(Continued from page 1)

cared for and learning, said Blank. "It's imperative that families, communities, and states work together to build secure environments and solid foundations of learning for all of America's children."

Some states making much-needed progress

In 1998, states continued to face the formidable task of addressing the increased demand for quality child care spurred by the 1996 welfare law. In addition, states are attempting to balance the needs of the many low-income families trying to avoid welfare. Said Nicole Oxendine Poersch, CDF's senior child care associate and the report's co-author, "Last year's economic prosperity bypassed many struggling families. For those already working but barely able to support their families, the demands of finding and paying for quality child care are more than many can bear alone."

"Last year's economic prosperity bypassed many struggling families. For those already working but barely able to support their families, the demands of finding and paying for quality child care are more than many can bear alone."

To alleviate the problems being faced by many low-income working families, some states are attempting to help more families pay for child care and to increase the availability of quality child care by starting or expanding pre-kindergarten initiatives and constructive after-school activities, especially for at-risk youths. Other efforts currently underway are utilizing innovative revenue sources, addressing sorely inadequate compensation of child care workers, and increasing licensing enforcement and staff training measures.

In 1998, several states, such as Rhode Island, California, Illinois, and North Carolina, moved forward to meet that year's child care challenges. Their efforts range from expanding child care assistance to meet the needs of more working families to providing more after-school programs for adolescents; and from recognizing the need for local communities to address their particular child care needs to creating new revenue sources, as well as adding inspectors to ensure the safety of child care facilities.

Rhode Island chose a comprehensive approach to improve early care and education services for children, and it guaranteed child care assistance to working families earning up to 250 percent of the 1998 federal poverty guidelines ($34,125 for a family of three). Recognizing that appropriate compensation of child care providers is an essential component of quality child care, the state expanded its efforts to ensure that child care providers have access to health insurance as well. It also helped to improve quality and make it possible for more child care providers to serve low-income children by accelerating rate increases for those providers receiving public funds.

In an unusual step, Rhode Island expanded the eligibility for child care assistance for school-age children up to age 16. It also appropriated $1 million to establish an after-school program for middle and junior high school students in high-risk urban school districts. California and Illinois enacted after-school programs as well.

Illinois recognized the importance of investing adequate staff to ensure licensed enforcement and protect children. The state appropriated funds to hire 75 new licensing staff—a 40 percent increase in total licensers—enabling the state to meet the requirement of one annual inspection visit. Children in that state also will benefit from improved and expanded licenser training, especially in early education. Also, parents will find accessing information about child care programs easier by the availability of a toll-free number that provides past history and violations about any particular program they wish to research.

Some states chose bold and innovative approaches to fund programs. California passed a measure that will raise about $750 million per year from a 50 cent per pack tax on cigarettes to assist local communities in strengthening and expanding services for families and children up to age 5. Missouri, with its riverboat gambling revenues, and South Dakota, with its closed-circuit horse and dog racing, created new, unconventional state revenue sources for child care and early education.

North Carolina and Iowa also focused funding on helping local communities meet their child care needs. North Carolina had pioneered the concept of local involvement by providing funds to communities to help them determine and meet the varied needs of families with young children, with a strong emphasis on improving families' child care options. The state is now improving and expanding child care by adding $42.5 million to its Smart Start program, a public–private initiative to help North Carolina families and children under age 6 access high-quality and affordable child care and other supports such as parent education, allowing them to enter school healthy and ready to succeed. (Visit www.smartstart-nc.org on the Web for more information.)

Iowa used funds from the Temporary Aid for Needy Families (TANF) block grant and new state funding to support community empowerment areas, which will help assess and address the needs of families and children from birth to age 5.

A number of other states increased their funding base by earmarking a portion of TANF block grant funding for child care. For example, Florida transferred more than $70 million to help eliminate the state's waiting list for child care assistance. Kansas used $5 million of TANF funds to begin a state-funded program that will use Early Head Start as a catalyst to create new and higher quality child care options for infants and toddlers. Oklahoma used TANF funds to double its commitment to Early Head Start families to $10 million. Several states, however, used these federal TANF dollars to supplant, rather than supplement, a portion of current state and federal commitments to child care.

Unacceptable discrepancies raise need for action

Despite the headway in some states, a sizable number of states made no new investments, and some even took steps backward and reversed gains. Unacceptable discrepancies in efforts to

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CDF Reports

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A Voice for Children

by CDF President Marian Wright Edelman

It's time to raise children out of poverty

In the past two years in America, nearly 400,000 children joined the ranks of the extremely poor. Now there are 6.4 million children in families struggling to get by on incomes less than one-half the poverty line. For a family of three, that's less than $6,400 a year. Think about what it must be like to try to feed, clothe, and raise a family in the United States on such a small amount of money.

The bad news doesn't end there either. The number of poor children, 14.1 million, remains higher than it was at any time between 1966 and 1990. And, in 1997, a record number of working families with children were living in poverty.

Over the past few years, children in low-wage working families have been bearing the brunt of rising poverty, falling incomes, vanishing employer-paid health benefits, and a weakening safety net. When children grow up in poverty, they are more likely to perform poorly in school and are less likely to finish high school, let alone college. They are less likely to succeed as adults in earning a living wage or live up to their full potential for contributing to the rest of society.

For too long there's been a chasm between what the American people want and what they get from their leaders. It's grown bigger and bigger, just like the chasm dividing the rich from the poor in this nation. And it's our children who are falling into this abyss.

There is some good news in the middle of all this despair. The American people want to help and they want to help now, according to a valuable survey by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation discussed on page 4 of this issue. This poll clearly shows the American people think it's time for working families to get the support they need to provide for their children.

More than eight out of 10 Americans said the working poor, along with those who are trying to go from welfare to work, should be given help to raise their children out of poverty. The poll shows there is overwhelming support for assisting all low-income families with health coverage, quality child care, job training, and more. It also shows that Americans want the federal and state governments to play a leading role in providing these supports.

For too long there's been a chasm between what the American people want and what they get from their leaders. It's grown bigger and bigger, just like the chasm dividing the rich from the poor in this nation. And it's our children who are falling into this abyss.

We must build the spiritual and political will to get children what they need to grow up healthy and ready to succeed. This is the time to make sure every child is given health coverage. This is the time to make sure every working family has access to affordable, quality child care if they need it.

At the same time we advocate for services that aren't available yet, we must also maintain strategic and sustained outreach to let working families know about the services that are out there for them, such as the state Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP).

As Congress and the President debate how to use our remarkable budget surplus and as state legislators come together in the light of a very strong economy, they must consider the will of the American people. This nation needs to put children at the real, not the rhetorical, center of its priorities.

Americans support "pragmatic compassion" for working poor

Americans want to provide child care and health coverage to working poor families, according to a new survey by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation.* More than eight out of 10 respondents (86 percent) said supports should be provided to *all* low-income families to help them afford and access child care and health insurance. In addition, the public strongly favors giving low-income families training, help with rent, and transportation aid.

The survey results offer a promising resource for showing federal, state, and local policy makers that there is overwhelming public support for doing what is necessary to raise children out of poverty. "This survey demonstrates that Americans have a pragmatic compassion toward helping others," said the president and chief executive officer of the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, William C. Richardson.

In Washington, D.C., at a Jan. 13 conference that released the survey results, Richardson added, "[Americans] realize that work supports—getting and keeping people employed so they can support their families—require investments in child care, housing, basic education, skills training, and transportation. They understand these supports are needed by all working families."

As part of the national opinion survey, respondents were asked to rate how important it is to provide specific kinds of help to people trying to get off welfare. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being the highest, the public showed strong support for a range of work assistance programs when ranking the following:

- help paying for child care rated a mean score of 8.2;
- help with health insurance, 8.3;
- allowing people to keep receiving welfare benefits while obtaining vocational or skills training, 7.8;
- help paying rent, 7.2;
- help getting to and from work, 7.1.

In addition to showing strong approval for providing various work supports for people trying to leave welfare and become self-sufficient, 81 percent of the respondents said the working poor should be eligible for the same kinds of work supports.

Government should take lead, says public

The poll indicates that there is strong public support to use government funds to meet the needs of low-income families. The respondents even expressed a willingness to pay a little more in taxes should it be necessary.

(See page 13)

*The W. K. Kellogg Foundation poll was conducted by Bonney & Company as part of the foundation's Devolution Initiative (see box below). It used a representative sample of all telephone households in all 50 states and has a margin of error of plus or minus 2.1 percent.

New initiative details first findings

The W. K. Kellogg Foundation sponsored a national opinion survey* through its multi-year, multi-million-dollar Devolution Initiative. Begun in July 1996, the initiative works to help states and communities understand and manage the impacts of the shift in policy decision making from the federal government to the states. The Devolution Initiative involves 19 strategic partners, among them CDF.

The survey details the initiative's first major findings, which include the following:

Support for working poor families

- 86 percent believe that child care should be available to all low-income families so that parents can work.
- 81 percent said the working poor should have access to the same benefits as those making the transition from welfare to work.

Assistance for those leaving welfare for work

- 93 percent believe that people who are making the transition from public assistance to work should be allowed the time and training to prepare for jobs that would make it possible for them to stay off welfare permanently.
- 77 percent believe that when parents on welfare find jobs, the government should provide help if their jobs do not pay enough to financially support their children.
- 77 percent believe that legal immigrants should have the same access to public assistance as native-born Americans.

Health insurance

- 86 percent support providing help for *all* low-income families so that the uninsured can procure health insurance for themselves and their families.
- 78 percent said the government or taxes should pay for the health insurance of children of parents/guardians who cannot afford coverage.
  - 60 percent support this assistance for all adults who cannot afford coverage;
  - 85 percent support this assistance for all persons with disabilities who cannot afford coverage.

*Bonney & Company conducted the survey, which has a margin of error of plus or minus 2.1 percent. For a complete copy of results, visit www.wkkf.org on the Web.

Special Report

Sizing up the odds

What's happening to America's children, day by day, moment by moment

Photo © Sherri Byrand

Every day, more than 10,000 babies are born in the United States. To help them, their siblings, and all other children in America reach their full potential, child advocates first must understand the odds they are up against.

Every year, CDF averages out a year's worth of data across a wide range of categories to get a glimpse of what's happening—by day and by minute—to our nation's children. The tables within this Special Report update all previous data, using the latest information available.*

For the first time, data for different racial and ethnic categories are included. It is important, however, to note that some information was not available for all groups. For example, the exact number of American Indian children

*The base year for the data is 1996, except for the following: corporal punishment and suspensions (1994), school dropout rates (1996-1997 school year), and arrests, babies born into poverty, and babies born without health insurance (1997).

(See page 6)

Every day in America, for all children

78	babies die.
2,162	babies are born into poverty.
1,353	babies are born without health insurance.
415	babies are born to women who had late or no prenatal care.
146	babies are born at very low birthweight (less than 3 lbs., 4 oz.).
787	babies are born at low birthweight (less than 5 lbs., 8 oz.).
1,377	babies are born to teen mothers.
2,356	babies are born to mothers who are not high school graduates.
3,453	babies are born to unmarried mothers.
5,388	children are arrested.
237	children are arrested for violent crimes.
420	children are arrested for drug abuse.
2,658	public school students are corporally punished.*
17,152	public school students are suspended.*
2,789	high school students drop out.*
2	young persons under 25 die from HIV infection.
36	children and youths under 20 die from accidents.
13	children and youths under 20 die from firearms.
6	children and youths under 20 commit suicide.
11	children and youths under 20 are homicide victims.

*Based on calculations per school day (180 days of seven hours each).

What's happening to America's children, day by day, moment by moment

(Continued from page 5)

and youths under 20 who died from gunfire is not known, nor is the number for Hispanic or Asian American children and youths. Also, Hispanic as tallied within these tables can refer to a child of any race.

It is also important to bear in mind when looking across racial and ethnic categories that the data look only at total numbers, not rates. As such, to see if children in one racial group are on average faring better or worse than those in another, one needs to consider the population counts for each group and then see how the percentages stack up against each other.

Nevertheless, some immediate comparisons are possible. For example, we can see that, because Blacks are in the minority, a Black child has a much greater chance of being a victim of homicide than a White child: A Black child or youth under the age of 20 is the victim of homicide every 4 hours; a White child or youth, every 5 hours.

Likewise, there is a higher risk that Black young persons will die from HIV infection than those who are White: One Black youth under the age of 25 dies from HIV infection every 14 hours; one White youth, every 19 hours.

Gauging progress

Knowing when we're on the right track can help increase the resolve of child advocates to keep working to improve the lives of all children. Likewise, knowing that things are getting worse, though potentially disheartening, can also motivate us to action. Both "Every day in America" and "Moments in America for children" can be used to gauge if there have been improvements or regressions in specific categories.

Nevertheless, just because one measure shows progress over previous years doesn't mean that we can automatically declare that the policies and programs related to it are a success. Take, for instance, the number of children being born into poverty. Over the last four years, this measure

(See page 9)

Every day in America

for Asian American children

2	babies die.
18	babies are born to women who had late or no prenatal care.
5	babies are born at very low birthweight (less than 3 lbs., 4 oz.).
32	babies are born at low birthweight (less than 5 lbs., 8 oz.).
24	babies are born to teen mothers.
68	babies are born to mothers who are not high school graduates.
76	babies are born to unmarried mothers.
92	children are arrested.
4	children are arrested for violent crimes.
4	children are arrested for drug abuse.
4	public school students are corporally punished.*
328	public school students are suspended.*

for Hispanic children

11	babies die.
679	babies are born into poverty.
532	babies are born without health insurance.
124	babies are born to women who had late or no prenatal care.
21	babies are born at very low birthweight (less than 3 lbs., 4 oz.).
121	babies are born at low birthweight (less than 5 lbs., 8 oz.).
334	babies are born to teen mothers.
988	babies are born to mothers who are not high school graduates.
782	babies are born to unmarried mothers.
183	public school students are corporally punished.*
2,250	public school students are suspended.*
672	high school students drop out.*

for American Indian children

1	baby dies.
9	babies are born to women who had late or no prenatal care.
1	baby is born at very low birthweight (less than 3 lbs., 4 oz.).
7	babies are born at low birthweight (less than 5 lbs., 8 oz.).
22	babies are born to teen mothers.
34	babies are born to mothers who are not high school graduates.
60	babies are born to unmarried mothers.
67	children are arrested.
2	children are arrested for a violent crime.
3	children are arrested for drug abuse.
36	public school students are corporally punished.*
220	public school students are suspended.*

*Based on calculations per school day (180 days of seven hours each).

Every day in America, for Black children

24	babies die.
723	babies are born into poverty.
247	babies are born without health insurance.
114	babies are born to women who had late or no prenatal care.
49	babies are born at very low birthweight (less than 3 lbs., 4 oz.).
212	babies are born at low birthweight (less than 5 lbs., 8 oz.).
372	babies are born to teen mothers.
450	babies are born to mothers who are not high school graduates.
1,138	babies are born to unmarried mothers.
1,426	children are arrested.
105	children are arrested for violent crimes.
143	children are arrested for drug abuse.
1,009	public school students are corporally punished.*
5,725	public school students are suspended.*
500	high school students drop out.*
2	young persons under 25 die from HIV infection.
6	children and youths under 20 die from accidents.
5	children and youths under 20 die from firearms.
1	youth under 20 commits suicide.
6	children and youths under 20 are homicide victims.

*Based on calculations per school day (180 days of seven hours each).

Every day in America, for White children

51	babies die.
1,323	babies are born into poverty.
1,033	babies are born without health insurance.
275	babies are born to women who had late or no prenatal care.
92	babies are born at very low birthweight (less than 3 lbs., 4 oz.).
536	babies are born at low birthweight (less than 5 lbs., 8 oz.).
959	babies are born to teen mothers.
1,805	babies are born to mothers who are not high school graduates.
2,179	babies are born to unmarried mothers.
3,803	children are arrested.
126	children are arrested for violent crimes.
270	children are arrested for drug abuse.
1,425	public school students are corporally punished.*
8,629	public school students are suspended.*
2,144	high school students drop out.*
1	young person under 25 dies from HIV infection.
28	children and youths under 20 die from accidents.
7	children and youths under 20 die from firearms.
5	children and youths under 20 commit suicide.
5	children and youths under 20 are homicide victims.

*Based on calculations per school day (180 days of seven hours each).

Moments in America for Black children

Every 1 hour, a baby dies.
Every 2 minutes, a baby is born into poverty.
Every 6 minutes, a baby is born without health insurance.
Every 30 minutes, a baby is born at very low birthweight (less than 3 lbs., 4 oz.).
Every 7 minutes, a baby is born at low birthweight (less than 5 lbs., 8 oz.).
Every 13 minutes, a baby is born to a mother who had late or no prenatal care.
Every 4 minutes, a baby is born to a teen mother.
Every 3 minutes, a baby is born to a mother who is not a high school graduate.
Every 1 minute, a baby is born to an unmarried mother.
Every 1 minute, a child is arrested.
Every 14 minutes, a child is arrested for a violent crime.
Every 10 minutes, a child is arrested for drug abuse.
Every 25 seconds, a public school student is corporally punished.*
Every 4 seconds, a public school student is suspended.*
Every 50 seconds, a high school student drops out.*
Every 14 hours, a young person under 25 dies from HIV infection.
Every 4 hours, a child or youth under 20 dies from an accident.
Every 4 hours, a child or youth under 20 is killed by a firearm.
Every 4 hours, a child or youth under 20 is a homicide victim.
Every 48 hours, a child or youth under 20 commits suicide.

*Based on calculations per school day (180 days of seven hours each).

Moments in America for White children

Every 28 minutes, a baby dies.
Every 1 minute, a baby is born into poverty.
Every 1 minute, a baby is born without health insurance.
Every 16 minutes, a baby is born at very low birthweight (less than 3 lbs., 4 oz.).
Every 3 minutes, a baby is born at low birthweight (less than 5 lbs., 8 oz.).
Every 5 minutes, a baby is born to a mother who had late or no prenatal care.
Every 2 minutes, a baby is born to a teen mother.
Every 48 seconds, a baby is born to a mother who is not a high school graduate.
Every 40 seconds, a baby is born to an unmarried mother.
Every 23 seconds, a child is arrested.
Every 11 minutes, a child is arrested for a violent crime.
Every 5 minutes, a child is arrested for drug abuse.
Every 18 seconds, a public school student is corporally punished.*
Every 3 seconds, a public school student is suspended.*
Every 12 seconds, a high school student drops out.*
Every 19 hours, a young person under 25 dies from HIV infection.
Every 51 minutes, a child or youth under 20 dies from an accident.
Every 4 hours, a child or youth under 20 is killed by a firearm.
Every 5 hours, a child or youth under 20 is a homicide victim.
Every 5 hours, a child or youth under 20 commits suicide.

*Based on calculations per school day (180 days of seven hours each).

What's happening to America's children, day by day, moment by moment

(Continued from page 6)

has improved some: According to the data available in 1996, a child was born into poverty every 32 seconds; in 1997, every 34 seconds; in 1998, every 36 seconds; now it's every 40.

Because fewer babies are being born, CDF double-checked to make sure this population drop wasn't the reason behind the decrease in the poverty figures. Fortunately, there has been an improvement after all, though only a small one.

But does this mean the 1996 welfare law is succeeding in lifting children out of poverty? Not when we consider that, in the past two years, we've seen an increase in the number of children living in *extreme* poverty—with family incomes below one-half the 1997 poverty threshold used by the U.S. Census Bureau (less than $6,401 a year for a three-person family).

As discussed in CDF's recent report *From Welfare to What?*, nearly 400,000 more children are now living in extreme poverty than in 1996, bringing the total to 6.4 million. Moreover, in 1998, a record number of working families were struggling to get by on wages below the poverty threshold (less than $12,802 a year for a three-person family).

When doing comparisons over time, it's imperative to rule out that some other factor beyond policy and programs, such as population declines, is not involved and to consider other data to ensure the clearest picture of the issue.

For example, for the fourth year in a row, the number of very low-birthweight babies has increased.

When doing comparisons over time, it's imperative to rule out that some other factor beyond policy and programs . . . is not involved and to consider other data to ensure the clearest picture of the issue.

Moments in America, for all children

Every 18 minutes, a baby dies.
Every 40 seconds, a baby is born into poverty.
Every 1 minute, a baby is born without health insurance.
Every 3 minutes, a baby is born to a mother who had late or no prenatal care.
Every 10 minutes, a baby is born at very low birthweight (less than 3 lbs., 4 oz.).
Every 2 minutes, a baby is born at low birthweight (less than 5 lbs., 8 oz.).
Every 1 minute, a baby is born to a teen mother.
Every 37 seconds, a baby is born to a mother who is not a high school graduate.
Every 25 seconds, a baby is born to an unmarried mother.
Every 16 seconds, a child is arrested.
Every 6 minutes, a child is arrested for a violent crime.
Every 3 minutes, a child is arrested for drug abuse.
Every 9 seconds, a public school student is corporally punished.*
Every 1 second, a public school student is suspended.*
Every 9 seconds, a high school student drops out.*
Every 11 hours, a young person under 25 dies from HIV infection.
Every 40 minutes, a child or youth under 20 dies from an accident.
Every 2 hours, a child or youth under 20 is killed by a firearm.
Every 2 hours, a child or youth under 20 is a homicide victim.
Every 4 hours, a child or youth under 20 commits suicide.

*Based on calculations per school day (180 days of seven hours each).

Although this could potentially point to a sign that there has been a decrease in prenatal care, or even an increase in illegal drug usage among mothers, other issues must be considered, such as the number of multiple births taking place due to increased usage of fertility drugs.

Looking closer

The data on deaths by homicide, firearms, suicide, and accident focus on all ages, from newborn up through adolescence. For clarity's sake, the "Every day in America" and "Moments in America for children" tables list only the totals for all children and youths, up through age 20.

Breaking down the categories by age, we find the following:

Homicide takes the life of

- one infant (under age 1) every 24 hours:
  one Black infant every 3 days;
  one White infant every 2 days.
- one child between the ages of 1 and 4 every 21 hours:
  one Black child every 2 days;
  one White child every 2 days.
- one child between the ages of 5 and 9 every 48 hours:
  one Black child every 6 days;
  one White child every 3 days.
- one child between the ages of 10 and 14 every 24 hours:
  one Black child every 3 days;
  one White child every 2 days.
- one youth between the ages of 15 and 19 every 3 hours:

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one Black youth every 5 hours;
one White youth every 8 hours.

Firearms take the life of

- one child under 10 every 2 days;
  one Black child every 5 days;
  one White child every 4 days.
- one child between the ages of 10 and 14 every day;
  one Black child every 2 days;
  one White child every day.
- one youth between the ages of 15 and 19 every 2 hours;
  one Black child every 5 hours;
  one White child every 4 hours.

Suicides account for the death of

- one child between the ages of 5 and 9 every 91 days;
  one White child every 91 days.
- one child between the ages of 10 and 14 every day;
  one Black child every 10 days;
  one White child every day.
- one youth between the ages of 15 and 19 every 5 hours;
  one Black youth every 2 days;
  one White youth every 6 hours.

Accidents kill

- one infant (under age 1) every 11 hours;
  one Black infant every 2 days;
  one White infant every 16 hours.
- one child between the ages of 1 and 4 every 4 hours;
  one Black child every 16 hours;
  one White child every 6 hours.
- one child between the ages of 5 and 9 every 6 hours;
  one Black child every 22 hours;
  one White child every 8 hours.
- one child between the ages of 10 and 14 every 5 hours;
  one Black child every 24 hours;
  one White child every 6 hours.
- one youth between the ages of 15 and 19 every 1 hour;
  one Black youth every 10 hours;
  one White youth every 2 hours.

Copies of previous years' "Every day in America" and "Moments in America for children" are available through CDF; call the CDF Reports *Managing Editor at 202-662-3590.*

Moments in America

for Asian American children

Every 13 hours, a baby dies.
Every 1 hour, a baby is born to a mother who had late or no prenatal care.
Every 5 hours, a baby is born at very low birthweight (less than 3 lbs., 4 oz.).
Every 45 minutes, a baby is born at low birthweight (less than 5 lbs., 8 oz.).
Every 1 hour, a baby is born to a teen mother.
Every 21 minutes, a baby is born to a mother who is not a high school graduate.
Every 19 minutes, a baby is born to an unmarried mother.
Every 16 minutes, a child is arrested.
Every 7 hours, a child is arrested for a violent crime.
Every 6 hours, a child is arrested for drug abuse.
Every 2 hours, a public school student is corporally punished.*
Every 1 minute, a public school student is suspended.*

for Hispanic children

Every 2 hours, a baby dies.
Every 2 minutes, a baby is born into poverty.
Every 3 minutes, a baby is born without health insurance.
Every 12 minutes, a baby is born to a mother who had late or no prenatal care.
Every 53 minutes, a baby is born at very low birthweight (less than 3 lbs., 4 oz.).
Every 12 minutes, a baby is born at low birthweight (less than 5 lbs., 8 oz.).
Every 4 minutes, a baby is born to a teen mother.
Every 1 minute, a baby is born to a mother who is not a high school graduate.
Every 2 minutes, a baby is born to an unmarried mother.
Every 2 minutes, a public school student is corporally punished.*
Every 11 seconds, a public school student is suspended.*
Every 37 seconds, a high school student drops out.*
Every 2 days, a young person under 25 dies from HIV infection.

for American Indian children

Every 24 hours, a baby dies.
Every 3 hours, a baby is born to a mother who had late or no prenatal care.
Every 19 hours, a baby is born at very low birthweight (less than 3 lbs., 4 oz.).
Every 4 hours, a baby is born at low birthweight (less than 5 lbs., 8 oz.).
Every 1 hour, a baby is born to a teen mother.
Every 42 minutes, a baby is born to a mother who is not a high school graduate.
Every 24 minutes, a baby is born to an unmarried mother.
Every 21 minutes, a child is arrested.
Every 12 hours, a child is arrested for a violent crime.
Every 8 hours, a child is arrested for drug abuse.
Every 12 minutes, a public school student is corporally punished.*
Every 2 minutes, a public school student is suspended.*

*Based on calculations per school day (180 days of seven hours each).

Necessary

News from the Black Community Crusade for Children

New juvenile justice bill requires advocate attention

The 106th Congress opened with a new juvenile crime Senate bill that, like its predecessor S.10, threatens to expose children to adult inmates in jails and does not adequately address the already disproportionate number of minority youths in confinement. On Jan. 19, Sens. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) and Jeff Sessions (R-Ala.) introduced the legislation, the Violent and Repeat Juvenile Offender Accountability and Rehabilitation Act of 1999 (S.254).

The new bill does show some slight improvements over S.10, which prompted intense education efforts by the Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC), CDF, and other organizations. "Several of the changes in S.254 from language in S.10 were a direct result of issues raised by child advocates, so all our hard work is beginning to pay off," said Jesselyn McCurdy, program coordinator of BCCC's Juvenile and Family Court Judges' Leadership Council (JLC).

"Unfortunately, child advocates must continue their efforts: There are still components of the bill that, if passed, could place children in dangerous situations when being held in adult jails," said McCurdy.

Before the passage of the 1974 Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, children in many states were incarcerated alongside adults, which exposed them to verbal and physical abuse. Children were even beaten and raped, and some committed suicide. The majority of the youngsters were not jailed for violent offenses, but for property crimes or status offenses such as truancy and running away.

The new bill, if passed, will eliminate the standard that protects children from seeing and hearing adult prisoners, substituting a weaker one that prohibits "physical contact or sustained oral communications between juveniles and adult inmates."

The bill also eliminates a requirement for states to address why minority youths are being disproportionately confined. "Research is showing that often the juvenile justice system treats minority children differently than it does non-minority children. We need to explore why this is happening and address any racial biases," said McCurdy.

She explained that many non-minority children are not sent to detention when they are charged with a nonviolent first offense—instead they're given a chance to participate in community-based intervention programs or they are returned to their families. In some cases, upon completion, these non-minority children are diverted out of the system and given a second chance. "Minority children are often not given such an opportunity. Instead, they're funneled into the juvenile justice and criminal systems and left with the stigma and record that come along with that," said McCurdy.

In addition to removing protections for children, S.254 fails to address one of the primary causes of violent crime, children's access to guns. "Child advocates must continue their efforts to educate congressional members and staff. If we are ever going to prevent violence committed by and against children, we need comprehensive measures to prevent children from getting access to guns. And we must protect our children from adult jails while we address racial biases in the system," said McCurdy.

For more information, call Jesselyn McCurdy at 202-662-3577.

Courtside seats reveal impact of positive programs

During the week of March 29, elected officials and community leaders across the country will spend a day in court. There, they'll see beyond all the reports and statistics, hearing the stories of real children and families.

They're being invited by judges as part of the third annual Nationwide Day in Court sponsored by the Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC) Juvenile and Family Court Judges' Leadership Council (JLC). This year marks the start of a partnership among judges and ministers and students in the community, who will work together to organize Day in Court activities. They are focusing 1999 events on showing that positive, effective programs not only exist, but also are helping vulnerable children, and that they are worthy of support.

"We're striving to dispel the myth that community-based programs are not working, that the only alternative is to lock up our children in detention centers and jails," said BCCC Director Barbara Kelley Duncan. "The Nationwide Day in Court provides insight as to how policies, adopted at all levels of government, affect children in our community."

"We want to change the outlook that elected officials and community leaders have on juvenile crime and let them see how services and programs are actually implemented in their districts," added Jesselyn McCurdy, the JLC program coordinator. This year, the Nationwide Day in Court takes place during U.S. Congress' Easter recess, when elected officials are likely to be in their home districts.

To learn more about the project or participate in it, call Jesselyn McCurdy at 202-662-3577.

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Taking action to get to the hearts of Texans

Houston-based child advocates from more than 18 organizations have united to reestablish a local initiative of the Child Watch Visitation Program in that Texas city. Though originally recruited specifically to organize a Child Watch program in conjunction with CDF's annual national conference this spring, the new coalition will not end its efforts come the close of the meeting.

"The Child Watch Visitation Program is not designed to be a 'one-shot' event," said **Kim Adler**, CDF's senior Child Watch associate. She traveled to Houston in late January to train coalition members in the strategies that are essential for securing their new program's longevity and effectiveness.

The coalition is currently focusing on how to ensure that all of Houston's children gain access to health care. As such, the broad-based membership includes not only leaders from the faith and business communities, but also health policy experts and health care providers.

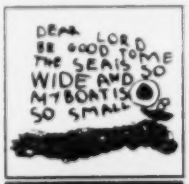
CDF's training session, said Adler, was designed to give all the members an opportunity to understand their area's health care needs and explore what actions community leaders must take in order to improve the lives of Houston's children.

The session also provided the members with background on the Child Watch Visitation Program, including examples of how other coalitions are applying the CDF model to help children in their communities. In addition, the Houston Child Watch coalition members learned how to use a consensus-building tool called "dotocracy" to narrow their issue focus and then brainstorm around program elements such as the following:

- What sites should they consider when planning visits to illustrate the needs of Houston's children?
- What actions should visit participants be directed to take after the event on behalf of children?
- What efforts must the coalition undertake to follow up with visit participants, in particular to spur solutions?

The coalition has already built the foundation that is necessary for any Child Watch Visitation Program to be successful—a strong, diverse membership. As coalition coordinator, **Rosie Valadez**, government relations liaison for Texas Children's Hospital, heads a team that includes representatives of area hospitals, child advocacy agencies, faith-based organizations, local service providers, and affiliates of national organizations such as the March of Dimes and United Way. In addition, staff from the Health Law and Policy Institute at the University of Houston Law Center and the University of Houston Youth Policy Development Center have enlisted in the coalition.

The members have joined forces to provide Houston's business community with a look into the lives of families struggling to meet the health care needs of their children. "Houston's Child Watch coalition has already begun working hard to deliver a strong program that motivates community leaders into action, so that they too become advocates for children," said Adler.



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Americans support "pragmatic compassion" for working poor

(Continued from page 4)

Specifically, the survey asked who should be responsible for taking care of the health needs of the poor, allowing the respondents to choose more than one answer. Of those polled, 42 percent said the federal government should pay for health care for the poor; 34 percent said state governments; and 17 percent said local governments. Only 5 percent reported that charitable or religious organizations should be responsible, while 5 percent said that the poor themselves should take care of their own health care needs.

When asked how the health care should be paid for, 64 percent of the respondents said they would be willing to pay a little more in taxes if such an increase was necessary to provide medical services for the poor.

Respondents also looked to the government as the entity they felt should be responsible for paying for the work supports needed by those leaving welfare and by other working poor families. Of those polled, 31 percent chose the federal government; 28 percent chose state governments; and 15 percent picked local governments—for a total of 74 percent favoring government at any level. In contrast, only 8 percent picked churches and charities, and 8 percent selected "the poor themselves."

More than eight out of 10 respondents (81 percent) said they would be willing "to pay a little more in taxes to take care of children, the elderly, and persons with disabilities who are unable to take care of themselves." In a related question, 86 percent said they believed that "if spent more wisely, there should be enough money in the existing federal budget to take care of the poor."

"These results are powerful confirmation that supports such as child care and health insurance should be made available at an affordable cost for all working families," said CDF Family Income Director Deborah Weinstein.

Survey offers resources for advocates

The poll also investigated the public's involvement in government issues and devolution; the results point to an interesting problem for advocates, said Weinstein. "People may be inclined to say more positive things about levels of government that are 'closer to the people,' but they report that they contact *federal* elected officials more frequently than state lawmakers. In addition, the poll demonstrates that the public thinks it is most appropriate for the *federal* government to pay for health care or support for the poor."

Because programs related to these concerns have been devolved to the states, said Weinstein, "advocates have a lot of work to do to expand civic participation with state elected officials."

In the meantime, however, advocates can use the Kellogg Foundation's survey results to show public officials that there is strong public consensus for programs that support working poor families. "The poll clearly demonstrates that the public understands that low-income parents need help if they want to raise their children out of poverty. It also shows that Americans do want the federal and state governments to play a leading role in providing this support," said Weinstein.

For more information, contact the Devolution Initiative through the W. K. Kellogg Foundation at One Michigan Avenue East, Battle Creek, MI 49017-4058; phone 616-968-1611. The survey and its results are also available at www.wkkf.org on the Web.

New report highlights recent state child care developments

(Continued from page 2)

address the quality, availability, and affordability of child care continue to exist among the states even though all 50 benefited from a $100 million federal increase in mandatory federal funding for the Child Care and Development Block Grant (CCDBG) in 1998.

"Despite the increase, we are still left with so many states in which there is a tremendous unmet need," said Blank. "As of January 1998, about half of the states had to turn away eligible . . . families or put them on waiting lists." Last year, nine out of 10 children who were eligible for and needed child care assistance did *not* receive help.

Despite families' overwhelming need and the hardships they face, some states continue to reduce access to child care assistance. Moreover, several took steps backwards in terms of protecting children, threatening their safety. For example, Utah expanded the number of children that a family child care provider can care for without meeting any health and safety requirements. The majority of states paid outdated rates to providers.

Recognizing that many working families cannot access and pay for safe, quality child care, the Clinton administration is tackling the issue in its 1999 budget proposal. In his State of the Union address, the president asked Congress to support the administration's "plans for tax credits and subsidies for working families, for improved safety and quality, [and] for expanded after-school programs."

The highlights of the administration's proposal include expanded funding for the Child Care and Development Block Grant; a new Early Learning Fund to strengthen the quality of care; tripling funding for the 21st Century Learning Centers, which support after-school programs; a significant expansion of the Dependent Care Tax Credit for lower middle- and middle-income families; a tax break for stay-at-home parents; and a tax break for businesses that invest in child care.

All states must find a way to follow the lead of those that are removing the obstacles to quality, affordable child care and pre-kindergarten, said Blank. "Geography shouldn't provide one child with an advantage over another. *All* states and communities must make a determined commitment to children and families. It's time for everyone to cast aside complacency and to work for the safety and well-being of all children, so we *Leave No Child Behind*."

For a copy of the report State Developments in Child Care and Early Education: Highlights and Updates for 1998, *$5.95, contact CDF Fulfillment, 25 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20001; 202-662-3652; fax: 202-628-8333;* e-mail: cdforders@childrensdefense.org.

One step for children

Some states are removing the obstacles to quality, affordable child care and after-school activities. Make sure other states do the same.

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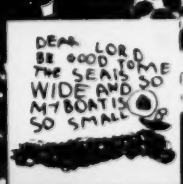

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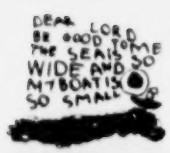

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CDF Reports

Marian Wright Edelman, President

April/May 1999
Volume 20, Number 4

Long-awaited welfare regulations signal new opportunities for states

But many need a push from advocates

PS 02798

Long-awaited final regulations for the 1996 federal welfare law were issued on April 12, 1999. The new rules will make it easier for states to design a package of work supports for families, and to assure that appropriate supports are available for low-income families both before and after they find jobs.

"States who have hesitated to spend federal or state welfare dollars should now be reassured that they can meet critically important needs such as wage supplements, child care, and transportation," said Deborah Weinstein, director of the Children's Defense Fund's Family Income division.

New evidence is accumulating that immediate action is needed. Troubling numbers of families are finding it even harder to pay for food and housing after they leave welfare, and many are not getting the food stamps and Medicaid that would help supplement low wages.

"When families stop receiving cash assistance, they more than likely continue to need other forms of aid, like low-cost child care," Weinstein said. States have wondered if months during which they provided services to families who do not receive cash would have to be counted towards the families' lifetime limit on assistance. The new regulations answer NO: states can spend federal welfare dollars on child care, transportation aid, training, or many other services for families who do not receive cash benefits, and these services do not count as months of time-limited assistance.

These rules recognize a key principle: families who work at low wages deserve ongoing support so that they can stay at work. That kind of support should not be subject to time limits or other federal welfare program rules. For instance, parents receiving training but no cash aid while they work at low wages should not have to give up child support dollars collected by the state. Those support payments are kept by government when

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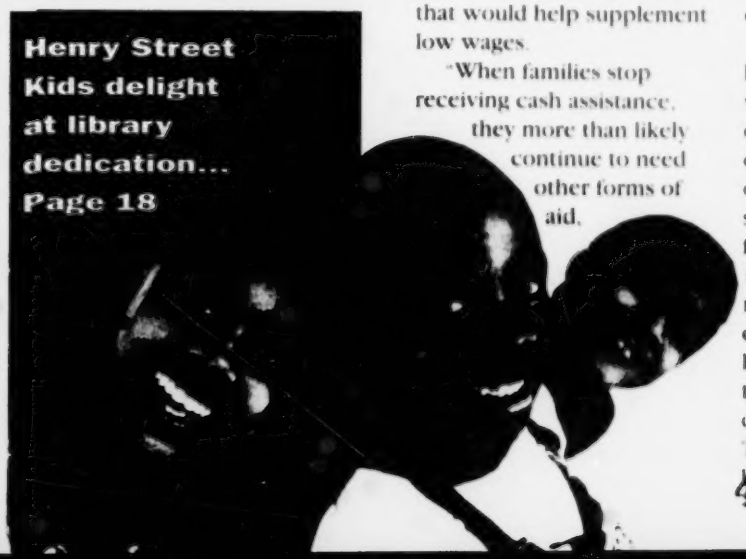
Henry Street Kids delight at library dedication... Page 18



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the family receives cash benefits. The rules make clear that working families can keep their own child support collections when they receive services, but no cash.

When families work at low wages, they often need more than services if they are to make ends meet. Families may need cash supplements to augment below-poverty wages. The new regulations clarify that subsidies provided directly to employers do not count as months of time-limited assistance, while a cash supplement provided directly to the employee paid for with federal welfare funds would count against their time limit. But the rules spell out ways in which states can fund these direct wage supplements without triggering the time limit.

States may use their own funds to provide supplements to low wages, and during months where no federal welfare dollars are used, the time limit clock does not tick. Illinois is doing that now. For months when parents work at least 25 hours a week, Illinois provides reduced cash aid out of state welfare dollars, and those months do not count towards the time limit.

The new regulations thus confirm a second important principle: states can use their own funds to serve families in ways that differ from the federal law. Illinois provides another important example: at the end of 1998, the state decided to allow welfare participants who are engaged full-time in postsecondary education to continue without using up time-limited months. Again, Illinois uses state funds for this purpose. Individuals receiving welfare benefits may attend a postsecondary program for up to four school years (36 months). The new rules confirm that states may create such separate state programs without fear of federal penalty. And states do not have to use new money; they can use the state funds they must already spend in order to receive the federal welfare "block grant" dollars.

States should follow these new regulations to achieve the goal of helping families with children to escape poverty. Fortunately, funds are available towards realizing this goal: over fiscal years 1997 and 1998, states have accumulated about $3 billion in unspent federal welfare funds. Spending has varied considerably among states. Seventeen states had no uncommitted dollars left from FYs 1997 and 1998, while 19 states had unspent funds equaling at least one-third of their annual block grant allocation. States are allowed to use unspent dollars through FY 2002. But the new federal regulations make it clear that while states can spend left-over funds for assistance (mainly cash aid) in future years, when they use federal block grant dollars for services like child care or training, they must spend the money in the year in which it has been allocated. These rules take effect on October 1, 1999; if states expect to spend some of their uncommitted funds on services, they should do so before that date.

States who have hesitated to spend federal or state welfare dollars should now be reassured that they can meet critically important needs such as wage supplements, child care, and transportation.

New findings from around the nation underscore how urgent it is that states use the flexibility clarified in these new regulations to create real anti-poverty solutions for families. In Wisconsin, for example, the state surveyed families that left welfare (called Wisconsin Works, or W-2) during the period January through March 1998 and who did not return for the next six to nine months. Eighty-three percent of these families worked at some point after leaving welfare, and 62 percent were working at the time they were interviewed for this study. But about one-third (32 percent) of the families who had left W-2 reported that they couldn't afford food at one time or another after leaving welfare (compared to 22 percent of the same families when they were receiving welfare). One in seven of all those who left welfare had made use of an emergency food facility (such as a food pantry) at some point. Even higher numbers reported falling behind in housing payments (37 percent, versus 30 percent of the same families while they were still on welfare).

Wisconsin's survey is similar in design to South Carolina's ongoing effort to track families who leave welfare. While Wisconsin benefits from especially low unemployment levels, and so shows somewhat higher employment and earnings levels than did South Carolina, that did not translate into reduced want in Wisconsin. In fact, Wisconsin identified almost twice as many individuals who had been unable to afford food sometime after leaving welfare compared to South Carolina findings from 1997 (17 percent reported inability to buy food in the South Carolina survey, compared to 9 percent while they were still on welfare).

"The Wisconsin findings are a troubling reminder that even in the best economy, families that leave welfare for work do not find stable, above-poverty pay," said Weinstein. "Without supports, far too many experience family-threatening hardships."

States can craft the necessary package of work supports by using federal and state welfare funds, and also by making sure that families receive other assistance for which they are eligible. Most families leaving welfare continue to be eligible for food stamps and Medicaid. But many families do not in fact receive those benefits, as evidenced by plummeting caseloads for these programs. In Wisconsin's survey, fewer than half of the families that left welfare received food stamps (49 percent).

A recently-released study of the food stamp caseload showed a reduction of 5.9 million recipients from 1994 through 1997, with most of the decline occurring from September 1996 through September 1997 (the first year of welfare law implementation). The analysis by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (based on data prepared by Mathematica Policy Research, Inc.) revealed that the number of legal immigrants receiving food stamps fell by 54 percent over the three-year period, accounting for 14 percent of the total decline. Most legal immigrants were denied food stamps under the 1996 welfare law (although some restorations occurred in 1998). As families

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A Voice for Children

by CDF President Marian Wright Edelman

It's Time to Be Fair to Our Children

One of the values that adults seek to instill in children is fairness. But if we want to do a better job of teaching children how to be fair, we must set a better example by treating children fairly.

Is it fair that in America no school system of any size, with any diversity of children, has ever educated the vast majority or all of its children to high levels of achievement?

Is it fair that poor children in the poorest neighborhoods have the poorest schools; the poorest prepared teachers; the poorest equipment, buildings, libraries, and laboratories; the fewest computers, counselors, school nurses, and enrichment programs; and the lowest expectations by teachers and a public that blame them for achieving poorly on the tests for which we have not prepared them?

Is it fair that every 66-year-old rightly has Social Security and health insurance while every pre-school child during the most important stages of development when brain, body, self-image, and spirit are being shaped for a lifetime does not? Too many of the millions of uninsured children sit in school unable to learn because of undetected and untreated eye, ear, and health problems.

Is it fair that corporations drain $125 billion every year in corporate welfare and tax breaks, while we have cut billions from social programs and demolished the income safety net for our poorest children and families? Is it fair to give a $300 million a year tax exemption to the owners of corporate jets while Congress lets children grow up poor without the basic necessities of life in a nation with the highest Gross National Product in the world? Of America's 14.1 million poor children, 9.5 million live in a household where at least one person works, 9 million are White, and more live in suburban or rural areas than in central cities. Shamefully, over 6 million poor children live in families with incomes of $6,401—less than half the poverty line for a family of three.

We adults must get our values and priorities straight before we waste the lives of these and other children who are struggling to live and learn. Something is morally awry in a world in which the 1998 United Nations Human Development Report says, "the world's 225 richest people have a combined wealth of over $1 trillion, equal to the annual income of the poorest 47 percent of the world's people (2.5 billion)." Sixty of these richest people live in the U.S. Their combined wealth is $311 billion. That's equal to the combined annual income of more than 19 million American families, or the GNP of more than 100 developing nations, or the 1997 budget of 35 states combined. Just the interest on those billions would yield $14 billion annually—equivalent to $1,000 a year for every poor child in America. We could eliminate child poverty—lift every poor child up to the poverty line—for $42 billion a year.

Preparing all of our children for the future and protecting all of them in the present is the greatest human rights and moral challenge facing our nation today. Children are not human beings in waiting or citizens of the future. They are human beings, citizens, and our sacred charges right now. Their health, nutrition, housing, child care, education, and family needs cannot wait until they are 18 and can vote if they are to carry on American values and institutions, and if those values and institutions will be worthy of carrying on.

By showing our children what fairness is all about, we can do more than teach an important value—we can provide them successful passages to adulthood and build a healthy American future.

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Reaching out in the states to enroll children in CHIP

When President Clinton signed into law on August 5, 1997, the State Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP), giving states $24 billion in grants annually for the next 10 years for uninsured children, advocates at Philadelphia Citizens for Children and Youth (PCCY) went into action.

Two PCCY interns spent the summer going door-to-door persuading small business owners in low-income working neighborhoods to help spread the word about CHIP. More than 150 small business owners-from pizza parlors to children's clothing stores to Laundromats to a vacuum repair shop agreed to participate. Some business owners displayed posters about CHIP in their windows, while others printed information on placemats and grocery bags given to customers. Ultimately, PCCY fielded about 300 calls from parents seeking information about how to apply for children's health insurance.

"Every little bit helps and getting information out is key," says Barbara Torregrossa, assistant health director for the Child Health Watch program at PCCY. "Families don't understand the system and flyers and posters can be very helpful, if you back them up with one-on-one help" in filling out the applications and assembling documentation.

Approximately 5 million of the 11 million uninsured children under age 18 in America are eligible for CHIP, and an additional 3 to 4 million uninsured children are eligible for Medicaid, according to CDF Health Director Margo Edmunds. "Many eligible children aren't enrolled because their families don't have information about available programs or because they assume they don't qualify," she says.

Everyone has a role to play in ensuring that parents in the United States know about available children's health insurance. Here are some ways for parents, advocates, educators, service providers, religious and business leaders, to target and enroll uninsured children in your state's free or low-cost CHIP.

- **Get informed.** Find out how many uninsured children live in your state, where they live, who is eligible for CHIP, and how many other children's health services exist. Call your state health agency and ask whether there are funds available for community-based health outreach activities, or if easy-to-understand brochures, posters, and other materials have been created that can be distributed within your community.
- **Connect with other local advocates.** Find out whether there is a child advocacy group in your state or city that you can join or support. Call and volunteer to join in their efforts to educate parents and the community about children's health. If your community does not have a child health coalition, organize a steering committee of friends, family, neighbors, colleagues, and other contacts.
- **Create an action plan.** Inventory the resources you have at your disposal, such as monetary contributions or the large number of volunteers you can gather. Write down what you hope to accomplish. Figure out the tasks that need to be done for you to achieve your goal, assign tasks to your team members, and set concrete deadlines. Then, follow up!
- **Contact your local newspaper and radio and TV stations.** Build a media list of local reporters who write about children's health. Send them fact sheets about CHIP and uninsured children in your community, with quotes from community leaders who support your efforts. Use statistics from CDF and other resources to back up your assertions with hard facts and break lingering stereotypes *(see www.childrensdefense.org/signup or call Desmond Brown at 202-662-3561)*. Write a letter to the editor. Call a reporter and suggest positive stories about children and families in your community. For example, you might have a working neighbor or friend who can't afford health insurance, who is willing to talk about how easy it is to sign up for CHIP and how it's keeping her children healthy and giving her peace of mind.
- **Involve your congregation, civic groups, and social clubs.** Make health insurance for children your group's mission this year. Religious groups can spread the word about CHIP through their congregation's bulletin, offer special prayers or sermons, post information on church and synagogue bulletin boards, and designate an accessible place where families can go to obtain CHIP and Medicaid information and applications. Civic and social groups could invite a local children's health advocate or service provider to speak about children's need for health insurance, the benefits of CHIP, and ways to enroll local children.
- **Reach out to schools, child care centers, and after-school programs.** Meet with the district superintendent, a school principal, or the executive director of your local child care center to determine the protocol for involving them in your CHIP outreach efforts. Once you agree upon ways to

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CHIP outreach in the states

- Maine advocates have asked hospitals to send CHIP and Medicaid applications to all uninsured children who were treated in the last two years.
- Colorado advocates are enrolling families on an Internet database that can quickly screen them for eligibility.
- Indiana advocates persuaded state agencies to disseminate CHIP information in all mailings to families with children.
- Nevada advocates asked local dairies to advertise CHIP on the side of milk cartons.

Special Report

The State of America's Children

CDF's annual analysis shows children are being left behind

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Despite great technological advances over the past few decades, the country's unprecedented economic prosperity, and the promise of a new millennium, America's children are falling farther and farther behind, according to CDF's *The State of America's Children Yearbook 1999*. Millions of children cannot read, and too many children enter school not Ready to Learn and Ready to Succeed. Millions more young people who graduate from high school still cannot read well enough to pass an entry level job test or get a job with an above-poverty wage.

"That 200 children will drop out of school, 45 children will be born into poverty, 16 children will be born at low birthweight, five children will be arrested for violent crime, and one child will be wounded by gunfire in the next half hour is a far greater threat to American democracy and to every American citizen's security than Saddam Hussein or the war mongers in Kosovo or Angola or any external threat," writes CDF President Marian Wright Edelman in her foreword. "The ultimate moral litmus test of our democracy is whether we are willing to protect the most vulnerable and poorest group in our society our children."

Republican and Democratic leaders continue to play politics with the lives of American children, says Edelman, aggressively increasing the budget for "purported military readiness in a post-Cold War era" while the budget for school readiness for every child is being cheated. The social and health security of voting senior citizens is rightly at the top of every politician's agenda for investment, she says, yet the social and health security of non-voting children is at or near the bottom.

"This is not right, sensible, or cost-effective," says Edelman. "It is time for America to be fair to its children and to invest the same level of leadership, attention, and resources we invest in assuring that elderly and non-needy adults and corporate and military interests are protected."

The Yearbook documents just how badly America's children need greater attention and investments:

- Fully 19.9 percent of America's children are poor, even though child poverty has declined slightly for the past two years.
- One out of seven children has no health insurance, and nine out of 10 uninsured children live in families where at least one parent is working.
- Head Start is serving only two out of five children who are eligible to participate.
- Slightly more than 3 million children were reported abused or neglected in 1996—an 18 percent increase since 1990.
- Gunfire killed 4,643 infants, children, and teens in 1996.
- Marijuana use among eighth-graders has more than doubled since 1991.
- Forty percent of the nation's fourth-graders do not read at basic level.

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These realities stem from our failure as individuals, as communities, and as corporate, civic, cultural, and political leaders to get straight our priorities and values and place children first, says Edelman.

"Investing in and educating all American children is an urgent moral and practical imperative," writes Edelman. "If our democracy is to remain vibrant in the dawning new century and millennium; if our economy is to remain on the cutting edge in a globalizing economy; if our leadership is to be credible in a world where two-thirds of its citizens are not White, two-thirds of whom are poor, and a majority of whom do not speak English as a first language, then we must make America's promise of fair opportunity real right now to its children right here at home. And we must begin in our public schools."

Childhood Immunizations: Best and Worst States

Percentage of 19- to 35-month-old children fully-immunized, 1997

Best states (Rank)		Worst states (Rank)	
1. Massachusetts	86%	41. Utah	69%
2. Alabama	85	50. Idaho	70
2.Connecticut	85	48. Nevada	71
4. Maine	84	48. Oklahoma	71
4. New Hampshire	84	43. Colorado	72
4. Vermont	84	43. Indiana	72
7. Kansas	82	43. Oregon	72
7. North Dakota	82	43. Virginia	72
9. Rhode Island	81	43. Wyoming	72
10. Maryland	80	40. Arizona	73
10. Mississippi	80	40. District of Columbia	73
10. North Carolina	80	40. Ohio	73
10. Pennsylvania	80		
10. West Virginia	80		

Note: Full immunization is defined as four doses of DPT, three or more doses of poliovirus vaccine, one or more doses of any measles-containing vaccine, and three or more doses of Hib vaccine.

Source: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report, Vol. 47, No. 26 (July 10, 1998). Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Public education for every child

According to the Yearbook, about 90 percent of American children depend on public education—the "jugular vein to every child's lifeline to the future," says Edelman. "Improving the quality and accountability of public education is the crucial priority if we are going to improve the life chances of the overwhelming majority of American children."

Public education is long overdue for serious reform, the Yearbook says. Half a million children drop out every year, and more than half the seniors in high school are not proficient readers. In many school districts, the poorest and neediest children who need the most help get the least help. In some schools, ensuring children's achievement takes a back seat to the job security and perks of teachers, administrators, janitors, school board members, and politicians. Black and Brown and non-English speaking, poor, and disabled children, who depend on and constitute a majority of children in inner city public schools, are often less valued and less prepared than more affluent White children without special needs. Too many of today's public schools have devalued innovation, creativity, and collaborative relationships with parents and communities. And too many public schools are ravaged by violence and a culture of disrespect between teacher and student, teacher and administrator, parent and school, and citizens and school officials.

"It will be a tragedy for millions of children, and for our nation, if new calls for education reform are cosmetic rather than real, political rather than principled, more concerned with satisfying interest groups than ensuring that children learn, and episodic rather than sustained," writes Edelman. "Children—particularly poor children—do not need to be used or blamed again and stigmatized for not achieving what we have not taught them. And the first lesson we adults should teach children is fairness by treating our children fair."

To help all children learn and succeed, the Yearbook calls upon each and every American to make and keep the commitment to educate all children and back it up with strong leadership and adequate resources. The Yearbook further urges that America avoid making children's education a partisan or political football game; invest in and support services proven to prepare children for school; provide fair educational opportunity to Black and Brown and poor children, and recognize that the future of our nation hinges upon educating every child (see CDF's 10 Point Education Agenda for Every Child, page 12).

"Let's start today putting into place the resources and political muscle to get our moral priorities straight," says Edelman. "Let every citizen tell every leader in our nation and states that school readiness is more important than unneeded military weapons systems. We must quintuple our commitment to do right by our children... right now."

Some heartening trends

As it does each year, CDF's new Yearbook reports the most recent data and

reviews the previous year's developments in health, family income, child care, child welfare, education, and juvenile justice and youth development.

Some of the trends are modestly encouraging, says CDF Director of Programs and Policy Susanne Martinez. "There are some good signs on the horizon and a growing body of evidence showing that community-based preventive services targeted to children, young people, and pregnant women do make a real difference," says Martinez.

For example, the teen birth rate is down for the sixth year in a row, the federally-funded Vaccines for Children (VFC) program is rapidly increasing immunization levels of children under age two, teen drug use dropped for the first time this decade, the number of children dying from gunfire has dropped to its lowest level since 1989, and many communities have taken important steps that have helped to reduce the juvenile crime rate and keep children safe.

At the same time, some alarming trends in public health emerged, according to Martinez, underscoring the need for increased focus on and greater investments in children's services. More teens are smoking than ever before, children still die by gunfire, more females are becoming embroiled in the juvenile justice system, the number of abused and neglected children continues to rise, and too many parents are unable to find affordable, quality child care that allows them to work.

"There were a few minor achievements in 1998, but overall it was a rather disappointing year for children at the federal level, leaving a lot of unfinished work to be done," says Martinez. "With Congress absorbed for most of the year in matters unrelated to domestic policy, it was the states that stepped up to the plate and deserve credit for building upon innovative violence prevention initiatives, working together to boost the high school completion rate, and making steady progress on providing children with much-needed health insurance."

New opportunities for health coverage

The State Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP), signed into law on August 5, 1997, has enormous potential to make a difference in children's health, the Yearbook says.

In 1997, 11.6 million children had no health insurance. Employer-based health coverage has dwindled over the past 10 years as employers have increasingly asked their employees to pay for dependent coverage-an extra cost many low-wage parents can not afford. CHIP, which provides $4 billion in grants to states annually for the next 10 years, is giving thousands of low-income working families the opportunity to provide health insurance for their children. States participating in CHIP have great flexibility in how to implement the program and many are working to find creative ways to get the word out to families that affordable children's health coverage is available (see Reaching Out to Enroll Children in CHIP, page 4).

Many factors—poor nutrition, substandard housing, and violence—combine to produce racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic disparities in health status, the Yearbook says. Besides making health insurance available to children, CHIP is helping to reduce these disparities by giving state and local health departments additional incentives to improve their monitoring and data collection. With better information at the state and local levels, it will become easier to identify and address any discrepancies in children's health status and access to care.

Coordination among the wide array of public health, medical care, human services, and other community-based health programs serving children also has improved through CHIP, according to the Yearbook. With a new emphasis on improved outreach and program coordination and on public information and accountability, CHIP is encouraging innovative new collaborations to benefit children.

States also have an opportunity to insure children with the money they soon will receive in compensation from the tobacco industry. "CHIP will be competing against several other priorities in most states, including many worthy programs that affect the lives of children and families," says

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Child Health Coverage: Best and Worst States

Percentage of children under age 19 lacking health insurance, 1995–1997

Best states (Rank)		Worst states (Rank)	
1. Hawaii	6.0%	51. Texas	24.5%
1. Wisconsin	6.0	50. Arizona	24.2
3. Minnesota	7.0	48. Arkansas	22.2
4. Vermont	7.3	48. Louisiana	22.2
5. South Dakota	7.9	46. Nevada	19.8
6. Michigan	8.2	46. New Mexico	19.8
7. Pennsylvania	8.4	45. Mississippi	19.3
8. New Hampshire	8.9	43. Oklahoma	19.2
9. Massachusetts	9.1	43. Florida	19.2
10. Rhode Island	9.2	42. California	18.2

Note: Percentages are the average of the percentages of children uninsured in 1995, 1996, and 1997. Three years of data are averaged because of small sample sizes in many states.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Survey, March 1996-1998. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

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the Yearbook. "It will be vitally important for community-based organizations and for the children's health community to actively monitor and participate in state decision-making about these new funds."

Questions about managed care

According to the Yearbook, the rapid move to managed care also may pose threats to children enrolled in Medicaid. In 1998, an estimated 40 million children were enrolled in some form of Medicaid managed care.

Whether the quality of health care is improved, or even maintained under Medicaid managed care, depends on such factors as whether the plans provide the full range of services now covered by Medicaid, including comprehensive services to children as required by federal law, and whether plans give providers financial incentives to deny care to patients.

During recent years, many states have enacted a variety of laws and regulations to protect managed care patients. In 1998, according to the Yearbook, the Clinton administration took an important step to protect managed care patients by pushing for congressional action on a "Bill of Rights." While Congress failed to pass a "Patient Bill of Rights" in 1998, the subject is likely to re-emerge this year.

Low-Birthweight Births Best and Worst States

Percentage of babies born at low birthweight, 1996

Best states (Rank)		Worst states (Rank)	
1. New Hampshire	4.8%	51. District of Columbia	14.3%
2. Oregon	5.3	49. Louisiana	9.9
3. Alaska	5.5	49. Mississippi	9.9
4. Washington	5.6	48. Alabama	9.3
5. North Dakota	5.7	47. South Carolina	9.2
6. Idaho	5.8	45. Colorado	8.8
6. Minnesota	5.8	45. Tennessee	8.8
6. South Dakota	5.8	44. North Carolina	8.7
9. Maine	5.9	43. Maryland	8.6
10. California	6.1	40. Arkansas	8.5
		40. Delaware	8.5
		40. Georgia	8.5

Source: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, National Center for Health Statistics, Monthly Vital Statistics Report, Vol. 46, No. 11, Supplement (June 30, 1998), Report of Final Natality Statistics, 1996, Table 46. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Early Prenatal Care: Best and Worst States

Percentage of babies born to mothers who received early prenatal care, 1996

Best states (Rank)		Worst states (Rank)	
1. Maine	89.9%	51. District of Columbia	64.6%
2. Rhode Island	89.6	50. New Mexico	69.7
3. New Hampshire	89.1	49. Arizona	73.7
4. Maryland	88.3	48. Arkansas	74.8
5. Connecticut	88.2	47. Nevada	77.6
6. Vermont	87.4	46. Texas	78.1
7. Iowa	87.1	45. Mississippi	78.6
8. Kansas	85.5	44. Oklahoma	78.7
8. Missouri	85.5	43. Idaho	78.9
10. Ohio	85.4	42. New York	79.1

Source: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, National Center for Health Statistics, Monthly Vital Statistics Report, Vol. 46, No. 11, Supplement (June 30, 1998), Report of Final Natality Statistics, 1996, Table 54. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

The new face of poverty

There was good economic news in 1998 for America's families with children, according to the Yearbook, as well as urgent new needs for struggling working families, including those leaving welfare.

The fruits of a strong economy were shared widely among Americans in 1998. Unemployment fell to its lowest level since 1969. And for the second year in a row, wages rose, with the gains cutting across lines of race, ethnicity, and education.

Yet the advances barely made a dent in decades of rising inequality in wages and incomes for low- and moderate-income families, the Yearbook says. New figures on family income for 1997 showed that the gap between rich and poor families remains at an all-time high. And while most states offered some expansions of work supports, these efforts were dwarfed by the loss of aid as states retracted the traditional welfare safety net. Many of America's poorest families left welfare in search of work, only to find even deeper poverty and deprivation.

The Yearbook paints a vivid picture of poverty with a working face. Seven out of 10 children now live in a family where at least one parent or guardian works, up from six in 10 just four years earlier.

Many low- to moderate-income working families have difficulty paying for basic necessities. The Yearbook says the number of households receiving food stamps has dropped 21 percent since 1996, yet the unchanging number of children eligible for free or reduced price school lunches indicates that need continues for the working poor. One survey reported a 14 percent increase in emergency food requests in 1998. More than one-quarter (28 percent) of parents with incomes under 200 percent of the poverty level were unable to pay their rent.

Along with a shrinking safety net and the move toward working poverty the Yearbook points out another disturbing trend: an increase in the number of extremely poor children, who live below half the federal poverty level (below $6,400 a year for a family of three.) All of this increase occurred in female-headed working families, a group which is not only disproportionately poor to begin with, but also comprises the bulk of families moving from welfare to work.

Poverty is not just a short-term hardship, the Yearbook notes, and it has lasting, damaging effects on children. When families cannot afford the basics, their children's learning, health, safety, and development all are at risk.

Several important pieces of federal legislation touched the lives of low-income families in 1998, including a new housing law to expand subsidized housing vouchers (but also potentially limiting the access of very low-income tenants to public housing); restoration of food stamps and Social Security Income (SSI) benefits to legal immigrants with disabilities; and reauthorization of child nutrition programs; the Workforce Investment Act, reorganizing job training programs for young people and adults; and modest funds to help low-income workers (including those leaving welfare) get to their jobs.

Efforts at the federal level to raise the minimum wage in 1998 failed, despite clear and convincing evidence that low-income children would benefit. However, some states—Oregon, Connecticut, West Virginia, and Indiana—did increase the minimum wage. Other states augmented the federal Earned Income Tax Credit (EIC) with their own version, giving refunds to families whose earnings are too low to owe income taxes.

SSI also provided income support to nearly one million poor children with disabilities as of November 1998, the Yearbook says. Eligibility was made more restrictive for children under the 1996 welfare law, but the Clinton administration interpreted the statute even more narrowly than the law required, cutting off SSI payments for all but those with extremely severe impairments. Despite a good faith effort by the Social Security Administration to thoroughly review cases and double-check appeals, 115,282 children were still without SSI as of October 31, 1998.

Promoting work and reducing poverty

From its enactment August 1996 to September 1998, the caseload of the new Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) welfare program plummeted 35 percent, from 12.24 million to 7.95 million individuals, about two-thirds of whom are children. In 22 states, caseloads plunged 40 percent or more. These numbers are usually cited as proof that the 1996 welfare law is a success. But where are these families going?

The Yearbook says that while many of these parents are finding jobs, there are still substantial numbers who leave welfare without finding work. And those who do become employed rarely earn enough to raise their children out of poverty.

There is increasing understanding among states that low-paid work must be accompanied by supports—child care, health coverage, transportation, and wage supplements among them. But while time limit and work requirement clocks are ticking relentlessly for everyone receiving welfare, the Yearbook says, the provision of work supports vary from state to state.

Given that the number of families receiving aid has dropped precipitously, yet states are still receiving the same amount in federal block grants that they did when the welfare law first took effect, the Yearbook suggests that states now have more money per person to provide supports. The Yearbook calls upon states to: help welfare

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Child Poverty: Best and Worst States

Percentage of children living in poverty, 1995

Best states (Rank)		Worst states (Rank)	
1. New Hampshire	7.5%	51. District of Columbia	36.8%
2. Utah	10.5	50. New Mexico	32.0
3. Minnesota	11.7	49. Louisiana	31.3
4. Nebraska	12.6	48. Mississippi	31.0
4. New Jersey	12.6	47. West Virginia	30.0
6. Alaska	13.2	46. Arkansas	27.0
6. Maryland	13.2	45. Texas	26.9
8. Connecticut	13.6	44. Alabama	26.4
9. Iowa	13.7	42. Kentucky	26.0
10. Hawaii	13.8	42. Oklahoma	26.0

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, http://www.census.gov/hhes/saipe/saipe95/estimate.html
Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

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recipients improve their basic skills, create earnings supplements, raise TANF benefit levels, invest in child care and transportation, and allow families to retain more of their assets.

Child support also can make a critical difference to children living in single-parent families. Nearly half of the 19.6 million children living in single parent families in 1997 were poor, despite the fact that in many cases, their custodial parent was working. Child support can help parents stabilize employment and reduce the likelihood that they will return to welfare.

But many single-parent families who ask the state for help collecting child support cannot rely on ever seeing a dime, the Yearbook says. The U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) found that only 20 to 40 percent of families in states with early welfare time limits had collected any child support in the year before their welfare help ended. Half or more of the cases without support didn't even have a child support order in place.

States can do better at helping welfare families obtain child support. States like Minnesota and Washington have made great progress obtaining child support orders and collecting payment, according to the Yearbook (see inset, Child Support: Best and Worst States).

One barrier to collecting child support is that many absent fathers of poor children are also poor themselves. They need above-poverty wages, and help with job training and placement.

Child Support Collection: Best and Worst States

Percentage of cases for which a collection was made, 1996

Best states (Rank)		Worst states (Rank)	
1. Vermont	41.7%	51. District of Columbia	9.9%
2. Minnesota	41.2	50. Illinois	11.8
3. Maine	37.1	49. Indiana	12.6
4. New Hampshire	36.8	48. Arizona	13.9
5. Kansas	34.1	47. Wyoming	14.1
6. Washington	33.7	46. Tennessee	14.2
7. South Dakota	33.0	45. Mississippi	14.5
8. Pennsylvania	32.7	44. Rhode Island	14.8
9. Massachusetts	30.4	43. Florida	15.7
10. Ohio	28.5	41. Louisiana	16.1
		41. Michigan	16.1

Source: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of Child Support Enforcement, 21st Annual Report to Congress, Tables 52, 54. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Parents need child care

In order to work, families need affordable, quality child care and after-school programs, but finding such services remained a major challenge in 1998. At annual costs ranging from $5,000 to $8,000 a year for a four-year-old in urban child care centers and comparable costs for children elsewhere, child care is financially burdensome for most families, the Yearbook says. Quality infant and toddler care is almost always hard to find. And even though nearly five million school-age children are home alone each week when school is over, after-school programs do not exist in many communities.

At the lower levels of the economic ladder, child care can become a real crisis. A 1998 CDF study, Locked Doors: States Struggling to Meet the Child Care Needs of Low-Income Working Families, found that most states cut off their eligibility for child care assistance at levels too low to make a serious dent in the problem. Even low-income working families who are eligible for child care assistance frequently cannot get help and are placed on lengthy waiting lists.

Several recent polls found that a majority of Americans believe the federal government should help working families pay for child care. But, even though it emerged as a major issue on the national political scene early in 1998, only modest steps were enacted to increase families' access to quality child care.

The Yearbook says new funds were provided to strengthen the quality of child care for activities such as improving standards, expanding resource and referral programs, training child care providers, hiring additional child care inspectors, expanding the supply of child care, to support child care research, and support child care centers based on college campuses that serve low-income parents. A law authorizing loan forgiveness for child care providers was also enacted but no funds were appropriated. Unfortunately, these steps forward were overshadowed by a substantial cut in the Title XX Social Services Block Grant, which almost four out of five states use to fund child care.

In 1998, according to the Yearbook, progress was also made in funding after-school and child nutrition programs. And Head Start was reauthorized with a renewed emphasis on quality and reading readiness.

While increased federal funding is essential, states such as California, North Carolina, Rhode Island, Missouri, and Illinois are increasing state funds to address the child care crisis. California's electorate, for example, took one of the boldest steps by approving a measure that will raise approximately $750 million per year from a 50-cents-per-pack tax on cigarettes to help local communities

strengthen and expand early childhood services for children under age five.

Education goals for 2000

While the nation's continued economic and social progress depends on having a literate, skilled population with the ability to reason clearly, solve problems, and apply and advance knowledge, the Yearbook says America's educational system fails to provide millions of children the tools needed to succeed.

Enrollment in elementary and secondary schools, public and private, reached record levels in 1998, with 52.7 million students—500,000 more than the previous year. These numbers are projected to increase to 54.3 million by the year 2008. The Yearbook notes that these so-called "baby-boom echo" children will require more and better-equipped classrooms, teachers, resources, and strategies to produce a new generation of young Americans armed with the skills needed to help move our nation forward.

Nearly a decade ago, the nation set a series of educational goals to be achieved by the year 2000 (see inset, Education Goals 2000). Although America has fallen far short of achieving these goals, the Yearbook says there is growing consensus that educational reform is realistic and achievable by implementing a series of common-sense principles that put children's needs first (see CDF's 10 Point Education Agenda for Every Child, page 12). Several states-such as North Carolina, Connecticut, Hawaii, Kansas, and Texas-have made significant headway in reaching certain goals.

Although lagging academic performance cuts across demographic lines, the Yearbook says children from poor families generally have lower-than-average academic achievement and higher-than-average school drop-out rates. The gaps in academic achievement between White and Black students have narrowed over the past 30 years, but significant differences persisted in 1998.

For example, the gap in reading scores between 17-year-old Black and White students was reduced by more than half between 1971 and 1988. Had progress continued at the same pace throughout the 1990s, the Yearbook says, the scores for the two groups would have equaled in 1998. Unfortunately, gains leveled off, and as the 1990s come to a close, the reading score gap (about 30 scale points) between Black and White students remains about the same as it was at the beginning of the decade.

The Yearbook says that Hispanic children's educational achievement and completion rates also have trailed behind White children, largely because, like Black children, they are more likely to live in poor, single-parent households, and attend schools with fewer resources, less-qualified teachers, and distressed facilities. Hispanic children often face language barriers, as well. In 1998, high school completion rates for Hispanic students were significantly lower than both Black and White students, and had changed little from the past 25 years.

Moreover, American students are falling behind their counterparts in most other industrialized countries. According to a 1998 report, high school graduation rates in the United States have remained stagnant while those of other countries have surged ahead. And, the Yearbook states, although the United States still leads in the percentage of students who enter college, other industrialized countries are catching up.

Reform efforts need boost

A wide range of education reform efforts were underway in 1998, the Yearbook says. Some of the most prominent initiatives included: improving student achievement, improving teacher preparation and training, creation of charter schools, focusing on teaching children to read, reducing class size to boost student performance, comprehensive reform emphasizing all aspects of a school's activities, and emphasis on community schools.

Although most education reform activity has focused upon elementary and secondary schools, the Yearbook says that school success is often determined by experiences that occur before a child enters kindergarten. Goals 2000 recognizes the importance of the early childhood years to educational achievement, yet many preschoolers—particularly low-income children—do not have access to early childhood education programs. The Yearbook emphasizes that any efforts toward school reform must include services that get all children ready for elementary school.

Higher education also needs some attention, the Yearbook says. Al-

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Education Goals 2000

In 1989, President George Bush and 49 of the nation's governors met in Charlottesville, VA., to develop goals for the education of all of America's children by the year 2000. The NGA chairman, then Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton, was a leading force behind the goals, which were subsequently expanded and endorsed by Congress. At this point, not a single one of these important, realistic, and achievable goals will be met. The eight goals are:

- Goal 1—All children will start school ready to learn.
- Goal 2—Ninety percent will graduate from high school.
- Goal 3—All children will master core academic subjects and be prepared for responsible citizenship and productive employment.
- Goal 4—The skills of the nation's teaching force will be improved.
- Goal 5—America's children will be first in the world in mathematics and science.
- Goal 6—Every adult will be literate.
- Goal 7—Schools will be safe, disciplined, and free of alcohol, drugs, and firearms.
- Goal 8—Parental involvement in schools will increase.

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though more young people of all racial, ethnic, and economic backgrounds attend college today, only one in three high school graduates completes a college education (compared with about one in four in 1973). That leaves two-thirds of high school graduates without the education necessary for a majority of the new jobs that will be available in the next century, and virtually all of the jobs with rising pay and career opportunities.

At the same time, higher education costs have grown way beyond the reach of many low-income students, the Yearbook says, and financial aid has also shifted from grants to loans, leaving many college students with heavier debts. New and expanded financial aid programs in 1998 allowed a handful of states—the District of Columbia, North Dakota, New York—to substantially increase the percentage of students who go on to higher education.

The Yearbook describes several education initiatives Congress addressed in 1998 which, however, were not enacted. A significant debate on education is expected to take place during the 106th Congress as part of the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which involves most federal elementary and secondary programs.

Keeping children safe from abuse and neglect

Tragically, child abuse and neglect continues threaten children across the country, the Yearbook says. About one-third of the more than three million children reported abused and neglected in 1996 were confirmed as victims. Of these, 52 percent suffered neglect, 24 percent physical abuse, 12 percent sexual abuse, six percent emotional maltreatment, and three percent medical neglect. Almost 40 percent were under age six. Black and Native American children were significantly overrepresented among abuse and neglect victims-double their proportion in the national population.

What is contributing to these high rates of abuse and neglect? In a 1998 survey, 88 percent of state agencies named substance abuse as one of the top two problems exhibited by families reported for maltreatment. Poverty and economic strains were the second most frequently cited problem, including lack of financial and transportation resources, inadequate housing, and unemployment. Lack of parenting skills and domestic violence were also frequently cited.

The number of children in foster care also is growing. An estimated 520,000 children were in foster care as of March 31, 1998—a 30 percent increase from the beginning of the decade. The Yearbook says children are staying in foster care longer, re-emphasizing the need to increase efforts to move children to permanent families more promptly.

Grandparents and other relative caregivers continue to play a major role in the lives of children whose families are in crisis. In the United States, there are 2.13 million children

CDF's 10-Point Education Agenda for Every Child

1. **Operate from the premise that all children can learn and perform at high levels**—and thus focus every action in our education system from school board decisions down to teaching in the classroom on helping all children perform at high levels.
2. **Ensure that every child enters school Ready to Learn and Ready to Succeed**—and that requires access to safe, nurturing, quality early child development experiences and pre-school education opportunities.
3. **Set measurable and appropriate standards for success**—and hold everyone—administrators, teachers, parents, students, and communities, in that order—accountable for whether those standards are met.
4. **Empower parents, teachers, and principals to make as many key education decisions as possible**—reduce the size of educational bureaucracies and change their role from one of direction to one of support, because decisions made at the level closest to the students will best meet their needs.
5. **Invest in quality teaching**—by ensuring lifelong training and retraining, and by compensating teachers commensurate with their ability and essential role in our society.
6. **Provide every child facilities that support learning and state-of-the-art tools**—ranging from up-to-date text books (many school districts still don't have enough) to Internet access.
7. **Ensure adequate resources to make all of the above a reality**—but use those resources wisely and efficiently.
8. **Involve the entire community in this cause, ensuring that students receive the support and services they need to succeed in school**—that requires a coordinated effort by health care providers, police, social services agencies, neighborhood groups, congregations, and the full range of voluntary organizations that work with children.
9. **Engage the public in the school reform debate**—only with full participation by those who elect education decision-makers and pay taxes can child-centered reform succeed.
10. **Address every one of these above elements now**—in its entirety, this agenda will succeed. Addressed in pieces, it will not.

living in households headed by a relative with no parents present.

States in 1998 were faced with implementing the Adoption and Safe Families Act (ASFA), which is designed to promote activities that will keep children safe and in permanent homes. Thirty-eight states passed legislation incorporating changes in ASFA.

ASFA's expedited timelines for decision making reinforce the need to provide more prevention and early intervention services to troubled families, and more attention to the substance abuse and domestic violence that confronts families in the child welfare system. At the same time, ASFA's focus on permanency has resulted in important steps in states to reduce the backlog of children in foster care waiting for adoptive families. States such as Illinois–building upon momentum underway in the state–already show a dramatic increase in adoptions. The Yearbook highlights the partnerships that resulted in these increases and other community child protection reforms as well.

Violence still troubling

Many communities across America are working hard to keep their children safe, the Yearbook says, as illustrated by the declining rates of juvenile crime, teen drug use, teen pregnancy, and the number of children killed by gunfire. But much more needs to be done to give young people positive alternatives and opportunities to develop their full potential as they grow into young adults, and to keep them safe from violent crime.

One in four young people report that they have been victims of violence. According to one study, cited in the Yearbook, children ages 12 to 17 were nearly three times as likely as adults to be victims of violent crimes and to experience a crime-related injury. The study also found that juveniles have experienced sexual assaults at twice the rate of adults and robberies at nearly three times the adult rate.

Gunfire in homes, communities, and schools continues to steal young lives and destroy families, the Yearbook says. Every day in America, more than twelve children die from gunfire. Nearly two-thirds were victims of homicide and about one-third die from suicide.

Gunfire not only kills children - children kill with guns. Seventy-nine percent of the victims of juvenile homicide offenders were killed with a firearm. Ten percent of the victims were family members, 54 percent

(See page 14)

From 1969 to 1997: As America Got Richer, More Children Fell into Poverty

America's resources to end poverty grew:

- Per person wealth in America, measured by per capita real gross domestic product, grew by 62 percent.
- We consumed 73 percent more material goods as services as a nation in 1997 than we did in 1969.

Yet child poverty rose rapidly, including among working families:

- More than four million children fell into poverty, a 46 percent increase.
- Almost one half of those newly poor children live in families headed by someone who works outside the home.
- The poverty rate for all American children grew by nearly one-half (from 14 percent to 19.9 percent.)
- The poverty rate of children in working families grew by nearly one-third (from about 10 percent to about 13 percent.)

Why Child Poverty Did Not Decline in the Boom

America's economy was not only growing between 1969 to 1997, it was changing. The assumption that economic growth would produce reinvestment which would create more jobs proved to be overly optimistic as far as its benefits for the working poor. New jobs were created, but many of them were for wages at below the poverty level or for part-time jobs without benefits or security.

In fact, rising economic inequality drove up the percentage of workers with below-poverty wages, from 13 percent among employed males in 1973 to nearly 23 percent in 1997, reported the Economic Policy Institute.

The safety net for children, always tenuous, became further weakened in the 1980s. Still, the safety net did lift more than two million children out of poverty in 1997, even more if food, housing assistance and the Earned Income Tax credit are counted.

But other anti-poverty efforts have succeeded. The elderly, the group receiving the most anti-poverty assistance, saw their poverty rate cut in half, from one out of four elderly Americans in 1969 to only one in ten elderly living in poverty in 1997.

If that success rate could be as effective for children today, three out of four of America's poor children would no longer be poor.

The State of America's Children
(Continued from page 13)

were acquaintances, and 36 percent were strangers.

Despite several tragic and highly publicized shooting deaths on school grounds during the 1997-98 school year, data show that school killings are extremely rare and have actually declined in the past five years. Children are far more likely to be killed after school—in their own homes, or in their friends' homes—than in school.

While progress on gun safety laws stalled at the national level in 1998, a number of states and local elected officials took steps to protect their communities by passing new regulations. As of January 1999, 16 states had passed laws to make gun owners responsible for storing firearms so they are inaccessible to children. And Chicago and New Orleans filed suit against gun manufacturers in 1998 to recover the costs of gun violence. Unfortunately, only four of the 20 gun manufacturers who entered into a voluntary agreement in 1997 to supply child safety locks with every new handgun sold were found in 1998 to be in compliance with their commitment.

Making sense of juvenile crime

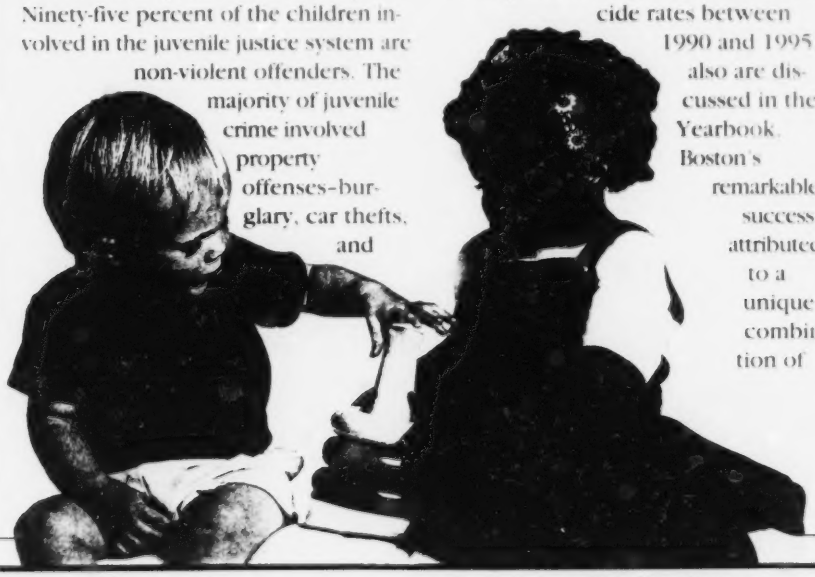
Understanding the true scope of juvenile crime and its causes, and developing common sense, community-based solutions is key, the Yearbook says. Ninety-five percent of the children involved in the juvenile justice system are non-violent offenders. The majority of juvenile crime involved property offenses–burglary, car thefts, and larceny. About 20 percent involved crimes against persons, such as aggravated assault and robbery, with less than two percent of juvenile crime involving homicide or sexual assaults.

"While juvenile crime is a serious problem, many of the 'solutions' popular with lawmakers are focused on the small number of serious and violent offenders," the Yearbook says. "Unfortunately, the sometimes draconian provisions of these policies can have a counterproductive impact on the vast majority of non-violent teenagers who come into contact with the juvenile justice system."

The Yearbook also discusses the stunning increase of juveniles placed in adult jails (despite being held as juveniles), the horrendously run-down and overcrowded conditions of juvenile detention centers, and the disproportionate numbers of minority children in the American juvenile justice system.

To keep children from going astray, or help them get back on track, the Yearbook underscores children's need to feel strongly "connected" to their families and schools. Children who are abused and neglected, or have mental health and substance abuse disorders are more likely to engage in risky behaviors.

Successful community efforts such as in Boston, which has developed a comprehensive strategy resulting in an 80 percent drop in juvenile homicide rates between 1990 and 1995, also are discussed in the Yearbook. Boston's remarkable success is attributed to a unique combination of long-term, multi-dimensional strategies that involve extensive commitments of public and private resources from a broad range of organizations and individuals.



"It will be a tragedy for millions of children, and for our nation, if new calls for education reform are cosmetic rather than real, political rather than principled, more concerned with satisfying interest groups than ensuring that children learn, and episodic rather than sustained," writes Edelman.

Because joblessness contributes to many problems for young people, including crime, another strategy is to help young people find jobs or gain the skills they need to enter the workforce. In 1998, a new youth employment initiative—the first in many years—was authorized as part of the Workforce Investment Act to help up to 50,000 young people in high-poverty neighborhoods find jobs. The legislation also changed how funding for youth employment programs is distributed, giving local communities more control over allocating funds.

Standing for children

The Yearbook calls upon every American parents, advocates, educators, religious, business, and community leaders-to work together for children. Every citizen must:

- Seek new investments for quality, affordable child care; make Head Start available to all children so they enter school Ready to Learn and Ready to Succeed; and encourage states to guarantee child care assistance to all low-income working families;
- Employ creative strategies to help families enroll children eligible for CHIP or Medicaid; work to eliminate

racial disparities in access to care and health status, and help protect children in Medicaid managed care;
- Expand efforts to prevent family crises; continue to implement the Adoption and Safe Families Act in ways that address children's and families' unique needs and circumstances; and foster the role of relatives in keeping children safe and in supportive families;
- Encourage creation of new jobs, education, and training; eliminate provisions in state welfare laws that are more harsh than federal law requires, such as the family cap; expand school breakfast, summer food, and Women, Infants and Children (WIC) nutrition programs so that all eligible children and pregnant women are served.
- Fight for increased investment in prevention programs; support common sense legislation to keep children safe from guns; develop after-school and summer programs to give children productive activities in their out-of-school hours; and provide mentoring and youth employment opportunities.
- Insist that government treat the weak as fairly as the strong and children as fairly as voting adults and special interest groups.

"It's up to each one of us to stand for children and make our voices heard," says Edelman. "It's time to say NO to national priorities that help the rich and hurt the poor and that invest in weapons of war rather than in weapons of peace. It's time to say YES to our children and to our future and to becoming a caring, compassionate, and fair nation."

The State of America's Children Yearbook 1999 may be ordered from CDF Publications, 25 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20001; 202-662-3652; for $14.95 per copy plus $2 shipping.

Support Services

(Continued from page 2)

with children were leaving welfare, they also lost food stamps; the number of families receiving food stamps and welfare dropped by 28 percent from 1994 to 1997. Some of these families continued to get food stamps after their cash welfare benefits stopped.

The number of single parent families receiving food stamps, but not welfare, rose by 120,000 during this period. But 900,000 single-parent families who had received welfare left the food stamp program. With data consistently showing that parents leaving welfare do not earn above-poverty wages, it is likely that the great majority, not just 120,000, remained eligible for food stamps.

Medicaid coverage of single-parent families is declining as well. For both Medicaid and food stamps, many families leaving welfare are under the impression that they must lose all three forms of assistance. Some states are either actively discouraging families from receiving any aid, or simply failing to tell families that they may still qualify for food stamps and Medicaid. Senator John Chafee (R-Rhode Island), a champion of continued Medicaid for families leaving welfare, is highly critical of the states' track records, as quoted in the *New York Times*: "I'm deeply concerned about the reports I've heard that people are losing their Medicaid coverage. This directly contradicts the intent of the 1996 welfare law and could very well undermine states' future success in helping people become self-sufficient."

Weinstein adds, "States have the resources to provide the help families need, and to do aggressive outreach to tell them about all the help that is available. The federal welfare regulations now make clear that states can use these funds to improve the lives of children and families. The hardships currently experienced by families with children are a warning to us that there is no time to waste in carrying out a real anti-poverty agenda."

For additional information, visit our Web site at www.childrensdefense.org.

Reaching out in the States

(Continued from page 4)

work together, the opportunities for spreading the word about CHIP are endless! Post flyers on school and child care bulletin boards. Send CHIP and Medicaid information and applications home with children or hand them out at back-to-school night. Arrange to speak briefly at a Parent Teacher Association meeting or distribute information at an educators' conference. Ask school coaches, nurses, guidance counselors, teachers, and child care providers to watch for young people who might be uninsured and eligible for CHIP.
- **Target local businesses.** Identify family-friendly businesses of all sizes that are in communities where low-income working families reside. Ask them to display information about the program in their stores, on their products, in their advertisements, and to give flyers to staff and patrons. Speak at professional gatherings of small businesspeople. Keep businesspeople abreast of your activities and progress to keep them engaged in the project.

Necessary

News from the Black Community Crusade for Children

Langston Hughes Library dedication

Former CDF Board Chairman Hillary Rodham Clinton cut the ceremonial ribbon to mark the official opening of the new Langston Hughes Library with CDF Founder and President Marian Wright Edelman, library benefactor and Barnes and Noble CEO and President Leonard Riggio (right), and Clinton, Tenn. Mayor Diggs (left).

The melody of **Maya Angelou**, the commitment of **Hillary Rodham Clinton**, the generosity of **Leonard and Louise Riggio**, and the vision of **Marian Wright Edelman** converged on the Haley Farm March 19 - 21 at the dedication of the Children's Defense Fund's new **Langston Hughes Library**.

Named in honor of the poet/novelist, the Library will be a national repository for children's literature and important materials on the civil rights movement.

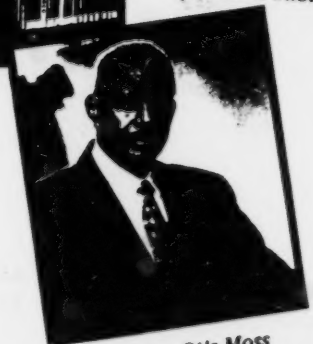
Designed by renowned Vietnam Memorial architect Maya Lin, the Langston Hughes Library includes the John Hope Franklin/Maya Angelou Reading Room and the Mrs. Rosa Parks Sitting Area.

A place for research and inspiration, the Library will house more than 4,000 books. The core collection of children's literature will highlight books written for Black children by Black authors.

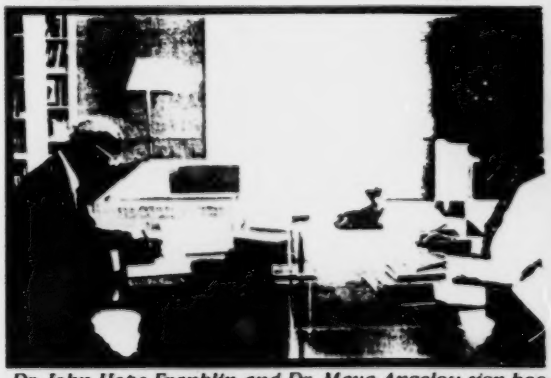
On the ground level, the beautiful Gift Shop makes available for purchase the best works in Black History, art, literature, and spirituality, important fiction and non-fiction books by Black authors, and important works on the civil rights and children's movements-including the work of CDF and BCCC. Also available are copies of every book in print housed in the Library, all of the children's books and curriculum guides used in Freedom Schools, and video and audio tapes from Haley Farm programs.

Nikki Giovanni and Tom Feelings confer after the Children's Book Round Table.

Library designer Maya Lin, Marian Wright Edelman and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton tour the new library.



The Rev. Dr. Otis Moss speaks about human progress in today's world.



Dr. John Hope Franklin and Dr. Maya Angelou sign boo

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The Henry Street Settlement Kids dance and sing.

Hillary Rodham Clinton and Marian Wright Edelman on the porch of the Haley Farm's White House looking toward the symposium tent.

Former United Nations Ambassador, the Rev. Andrew Young.

Actress, poet, singer, author Maya Angelou mesmerizes the symposium participants with some magical moments of inspiration.

Symposium speakers Toni Morrison (above), author of "Beloved" and Dorothy Allison (right), author of "Bastard Out of Carolina."

CDF board member and activist Winifred Green chats with Civil Rights pioneer Mrs. Mae Bertha Carter.

Freedom School leader Jerilyn Upton addresses the symposium.

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CDF Welcomes new board members and staff

New CDF board member **Geoffrey Canada** has been President/CEO of the New York-based Rheedlen Centers for Children and Families since 1990. At Rheedlen, he created or developed such programs as Rheedlen's Beacon Schools, which uses public school buildings to provide Central Harlem families with safe shelters and constructive activities 365 days a year (a program that has been replicated in Connecticut, Chicago, and California); the Harlem Peacemaker Program, which trains young people to use communication—rather than violence—to settle disputes; the Harlem Freedom Schools; and the Community Pride Initiative. In 1994, he was the first recipient of the Heinz Award for the Human Condition in recognition of his battle against what he calls the "monsters" preying on the children of the depressed inner-city.

Geoffrey Canada

Canada is a nationally renowned speaker, and one of the foremost experts on issues concerning violence, children and community redevelopment. In 1994, Canada hosted the nationally broadcast PBS special "Jobs: A Way Out?," which explored the importance of using employment opportunities to keep youth from following the path of violence. He also frequently appears on "CBS This Morning," "Good Morning, America," "The Today Show," and "Nightline."

He is the author of the highly acclaimed book on conflict resolution, *Fist Stick Knife Gun: A Personal History of Violence in America* (Beacon Press, 1996). His latest book, *Reaching Up for Manhood: Transforming the Lives of Boys in America*, was also published by Beacon Press in January, 1998. He is also the East Coast Regional Coordinator for CDF's Black Community Crusade for Children.

Among his other numerous awards are the Robin Hood Foundation's Heroes of the Year Award, the Spirit of the City Award from the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine; and Bowdoin College's Common Good Award. He holds a BA from Bowdoin College and an M.Ed. from Harvard.

One of America's truly powerful women corporate executives, **Heidi G. Miller** brings a wealth of financial and management expertise to the board of CDF. She is currently Executive Vice President and Chief Financial Officer of Citicorp. Her responsibilities include corporate level accounting, treasury, tax and financial planning and analysis.

A native of Flushing, NY, Miller is the daughter of a dentist, who had hoped that she would follow in his footsteps. When she made it plain that dentistry was not in her plans, her father offered to pay her way through law school after she earned her BA in history from Princeton. Law did not interest her—but Latin American history did. Miller put herself through graduate school, earning her Ph.D. in history from Yale University in 1979. She was snatched up by Chemical Bank, which was anxiously recruiting Spanish-speakers with knowledge of Latin America.

Shortly after her arrival at Chemical, the Latin American debt crisis swept the financial markets. Miller quickly found herself representing Chemical at debt-restructuring negotiations. Bringing an historian's perspective and a feel for a region of the world that many were simply writing off, she spent 13 years with Chemical Bank as Managing Director and Group Head of its Emerging Markets Structured Finance Group.

Miller is a member of the Citigroup Windows on Risk Committee, the Salomon Smith Barney Risk Committee, and the Travelers Property Casualty Risk Committee. In May, she hosts a retreat for women CEOs to brainstorm on ways to assist CDF in its mission to *Leave No Child Behind*®.

Heidi G. Miller

She resides in Greenwich, Connecticut with her husband Brian, who is a partner in corporate finance at the accounting firm Ernst & Young, and her two children.

Award-winning journalist **Jane Daugherty** joins CDF as Director of Media Relations.

Praised for her investigative reportage, Daugherty comes to CDF from her post of Projects Editor at the Detroit News. She has also held editorial positions at the Detroit Free Press and the Miami Herald.

Daugherty conceived the Miami Herald's annual "Holiday Wish Book" as an answer to major federal cutbacks in social programs for children, displaced homemakers, battered women, the elderly, and the disabled. While at the Detroit Free Press, she launched the special section "Summer Dreams for Children" to raise funds for non-profit organizations serving disadvantaged children. Cumulatively, these ongoing programs have raised more than $12 million in contributions for direct services for children and the disadvantaged.

She is a recipient of the prestigious Journalism Grand Prize for Coverage of the Disadvantaged from the Robert F. Kennedy Foundation, and was a 1994 finalist for the Pulitzer Prize for Commentary for her weekly column "Children First," the nationally acclaimed initiative she conceived and directed for the Detroit Free Press—which also earned the 1995 Children's Defense Fund Media Leadership Award.

Raised in Clearwater, FL, Daugherty was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard Univer-

sity, holds a BA in Mass Communications, and an MA in Social Gerontology from the University of South Florida. She regards her two children, Ryan, 17, and Meghan, 12, as her most important accomplishments.

CDF's new Controller **Brian Wise** will use his more than 10 years of diverse experience in the accounting field to continue and enhance the professionalism of the Finance department.

An experienced problem solver and supervisor, Wise proactively aids in his staff's professional development. He is accustomed to fast-paced environments. Most recently, Wise served as Senior Financial Reporting Accountant for ICMA Retirement Corporation in Washington, DC, where he produced voluminous financial review packages for monthly audit. Previously, he was Assistant Regional Controller for Integrated Health Services in Baltimore, where he directed and monitored the accounting procedures for 14 individual physician practices; and Lead Staff Accountant for Children's Hospital in Washington, where he upgraded accounting software and streamlined internal control procedures. He earned his CPA in 1997, and holds a BS in business administration from the University of Baltimore.

After serving as Director of Development for New York City,

Jill Bokor becomes Director of CDF's newly created National Development division. The division formally creates or integrates several divisions-Corporate Gifts, Major Gifts, Donor Cultivation and Planned Giving.

Armed with a degree in creative writing from Wheaton College, specializing, as she says, "in the particularly practical area of playwriting," Bokor worked in the development office of New York's Browning School while studying for her MA in American linguistics at New York University. There followed an impressive 15-year publishing career with Art & Auction magazine, where she was Publisher and Editorial Director.

1999 Stand for Children Day

June 1 is the fourth annual Stand For Children Day. This year's theme, "Ready to Learn, Ready to Succeed," supports a broad educational agenda which includes challenging schools for all children, new funding for after-school activities and school construction, new investments in child care and expansion of health coverage for children.

More than 300,000 attended the first Stand For Children Day event in Washington, DC in 1996. Last year, communities all over America held more than 1,200 local Stand For Children Day events that included rallies, marches, community picnics, candidate forums, book drives, and child care appreciation celebrations. A highlight of this year's activities will be signing-up children for the new **Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP)**.

Event organizer Karen Hardwick at Bright Horizons Family Solutions Center in Glastonbury, CT proclaims: "When we take a Stand For Children, we show children how important they are, and we spread that message throughout our community."

A nonprofit affiliate of CDF, Stand For Children identifies, trains, and connects local children's activists engaging in advocacy, awareness-raising, and service initiatives. In addition to Stand For Children Day events, supporters across the country have formed local Stand For Children chapters that work year-round to help improve children's health, education, and safety. Some success stories:

- **Wilmington, DE**—The lack of dental care for poor children has been identified as the most crucial health problem facing Delaware. One out of four children in the state visits the school nurse because of a preventable dental problem. Forming a new SFC chapter, concerned parents and community leaders enlisted Colgate-Palmolive and area dentists to provide free dental screenings in selected neighborhoods. Colgate-Palmolive provided a fully equipped mobile unit which screened 400 children free of charge. Colgate-Palmolive agreed to replicate the rousing success of the free screening program in other Delaware localities.
- **Orange County, CA**—The SFC chapter coordinates the Fullerton Peace Camp, an alternative day camp for children from first grade through high school ages. Last year the campers wanted to send a message about the violence they see every day. They designed a "Weapons and Stereotypical Toy Sculpture," building it on a large wood and wire peace symbol—adding such "weapons" as "Small Soldier" toys, and stereotypical toys such as "Barbie" dolls. The sculpture begins a tour of schools, libraries, and city halls on May 23rd at Fullerton College.
- **Tremont, OH**—In 1997, 61 percent of Tremont Elementary School students failed Ohio's reading proficiency test. Many of the children had either never owned a book, never been read to by their parents, or never seen their parents reading. Armed with studies proving that in families that own books, not only do parents read to their the children, the children read too, SFC chapter leaders successfully organized the business community, nonprofits, and religious groups to collect and distribute thousands of children's books.

To get involved with your local SFC chapter—or to start one—contact Stand For Children by phone at 1-800-663-4032, or visit their Web site at www.stand.org.

One step for children

Ready to Learn,
Ready to Succeed,
the fourth annual
Stand For Children Day,
June 1

CDF Reports

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To sit and dream, to sit and read,
To sit and learn about the world,
Outside our world of here and now—
Our problem world—
To dream of vast horizons of the soul
Through dreams made whole
Unfettered free—help me!
All you who are dreams, too,
Help me make our world anew.
I reach out my hands to you.

♦ **Children's Sabbath Multifaith Manual**
Learn how to plan and promote your Children's Sabbath with this easy-to-use, single-volume manual. Includes practical activities for adults and children, worship services for Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and other faith traditions, lesson plans, and resources for follow-up activities within every faith community.

♦ **Summer Freedom School and After-School Curriculum Guides**
These valuable guides offer an activity-based curriculum that, along with the superb book list, give children positive images and role models, a sense of their own history and culture, and experiences to discover and develop their individual identities and talents.

Langston Hughes, the inspired Black poet for whom the new CDF library at the Haley Farm is named, wrote the words above.

Everyone, perhaps especially child advocates, needs time to sit and dream, works of inspiration, and information about our troubled world, to help "make our world anew."

We hope Children's Defense Fund publications—our annual *State of America's Children Yearbook*, Advocate Guides, *CDF Reports*, and dozens of other CDF publications—help you help us in our mission to *Leave No Child Behind®*.

Please visit our Web site at **www.childrensdefense.org** to order CDF publications.

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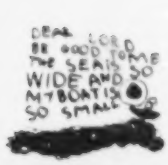

LEAVE NO CHILD BEHIND

Children's Defense Fund

Marian Wright Edelman,
President

CDF Reports

June/July 1999
Volume 20, Number 6–7

Gun violence

Nearly Thirteen Children Die from Gunfire Every Day in America

The recent school shootings in Littleton, Colo., and Conyers, Ga. underscore how pervasive gun violence has become in America, and why every citizen must take immediate action on behalf of children.

CDF President Marian Wright Edelman said, "The terrible tragedy at Columbine High School should be a wake-up call to every citizen who does not believe that he or she has a role to play in saving our children from gun violence."

Twenty-five American children—the equivalent of a classroom full—are killed by firearms every two days. Homicide is now the third leading cause of death among children five to 14-years-old, the second leading cause of death among young people and adults ages 15 to 24, and the leading cause of death among Black males ages 15 to 24.

"Escalating violence against and by our children and youths is no coincidence," said Edelman. "What we're witnessing is the cumulative, convergent, and heightened manifestation of a range of serious and too-long neglected problems. Factors such as poverty, economic inequality, racial intolerance, drug and alcohol abuse, domestic violence, violence in popular culture, births to unmarried mothers, and divorce all have contributed to the disintegration of the family, community, and spiritual values," said Edelman.

"If you add to these crises easy access to deadlier firearms, lonely and neglected children and youths left to fend for themselves by absentee parents of all races and income groups, gangs of

(See page 2)

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Nearly thirteen children die from gunfire every day in America

(Continued from page 1)

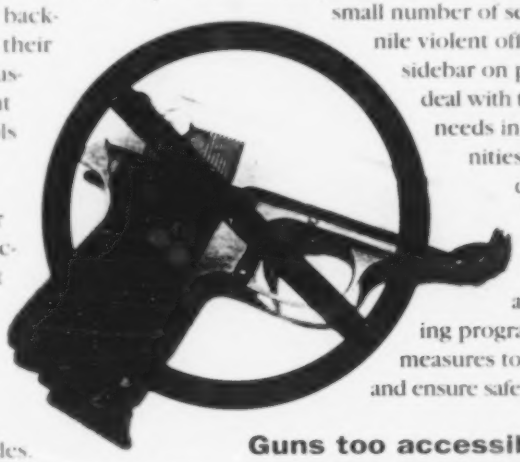
inner-city and suburban young people relegated to the margins of American life without education, jobs, or hope, and political leadership that pays more attention to foreign than domestic enemies, and to the rich than to the poor, then you can understand the social and spiritual disintegration of American society that confronts us today.

"We have not valued millions of our children's lives and so they do not value their own lives or ours in a society in which they have little or no social, moral, or economic stake or sense of community," said Edelman. "We must end the violence and poverty and child neglect that is tearing our country apart by changing ourselves, our hearts, our personal priorities, and our neglect of any of God's children, and work together to see that no child is left behind."

Homicide is now the third leading cause of death among children five to 14-years-old, the second leading cause of death among young people and adults ages 15 to 24.

Gun violence affects everyone

Gun violence is not just an inner-city problem affecting minorities. People of all ages, races, and backgrounds are losing their lives to guns, as illustrated by the recent shootings in schools and other public spaces. Between 1968 and 1996, for example, Whites accounted for almost half of the 400,874 gun homicides in America and 92 percent of the 465,661 gun suicides.



Most murders are committed not by strangers, but by family members, neighbors, or acquaintances. Contrary to current popular belief, the vast majority of violent crimes are committed by adults, not young people. In 1997 (the latest year for which final statistics are available), four out of five arrests (83 percent) for violent crimes were adults. That same year, only 4.4 percent of all juvenile arrests were for violent crimes.

Children are still far more likely to be killed by an adult than by another juvenile, and are more likely to be killed in their home or a friend's home than at school.

"There is no excuse for youth or adult crime," says CDF Director of Intergovernmental Relations, Grace Reef, "and perpetrators must be swiftly and fairly punished. But we must stop concentrating on simplistic, politically driven proposals that focus only on a small number of serious juvenile violent offenders (see sidebar on page 12) and deal with the enormous needs in our communities such as adequate early investments in children, mentoring and counseling programs, and measures to control guns and ensure safe streets."

Guns too accessible

A major factor in violent crime is the availability of guns. A gun is produced in America every 7 seconds and is available to almost anybody who wants to own or rent one, including children.

One advertisement encouraging parents to buy guns for their children, distributed as recently as 1994, asks: "How old is old enough?" and concludes:

"Age is not the major yardstick. Some youngsters are ready to start at 10, others at 14. The only real measures are those of maturity and individual responsibility. Does your youngster follow directions well? Is he conscientious and reliable? Would you leave him alone in the house for two or three hours? Would you send him to the grocery store with a list and a $20 bill? If the answer to these questions or similar ones is 'yes' then the answer can also be 'yes' when your child asks for his first gun."

More than 200 million guns are legally in the hands of Americans. "You can buy a gun as readily as a toaster across the counters of some chain stores," notes Reef. The safety of guns—a consumer product just like toys and blankets—remains unregulated.

While federal law prohibits young people under age 18 from purchasing handguns, it doesn't stop minors from buying certain types of assault weapons. Tragically, one of the young shooters in the recent Colorado incident was legally in possession of an assault pistol.

Gun shows, which are like temporary supermarkets or Tupperware parties for

(See page 12)

MYTH: **Gun control laws won't help.**

REALITY: **Since the required background checks of the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act went into effect in 1994, more than 312,000 individuals ineligible to purchase a gun (e.g., convicted felons and juveniles) were stopped from doing so. In 1998 alone, there were more than 70,000 rejected transactions—that amounts to 210 per day, or one every 7 minutes. According to a study published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (JAMA), the 16 states that have enacted laws making adults responsible for storing firearms in a manner inaccessible to children have seen a 23 percent decline in the number of accidental shooting deaths of children below age 15.**

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A Voice for Children

by CDF President Marian Wright Edelman

It's time for America to Protect and Put Children First

We grieve the tragic deaths of 14 students and a teacher in Littleton, Colorado. But we must do more than grieve. We must act with urgency to put our children first in our families, communities, states, and nation. And we must stop the insane proliferation of guns that killed 75,640 children between 1979 and 1996 and injured over 340,000 more. That's more child gun injuries than Vietnam combat injuries.

Every day in America, almost 13 children are killed by guns—a classroom full every two days. What is it going to take for us to protect our children against violence at home, in school, and in our neighborhoods?

In just one year (1995), 4,236,942 firearms were manufactured (including pistols, revolvers, rifles, shotguns, and other miscellaneous firepower). Most do not have anything to do with hunting animals. It is people, including innocent children, whose lives are snuffed out by these lethal products. Gunfire killed 4,643 infants, children, and teens in 1996—134 murdered before their 10th birthday. More children under 10 years of age are killed each year by guns than police are killed in the line of duty or U.S. soldiers killed by hostile action. The Centers for Disease Control reports that American children under 15 are 12 times more likely to die from gun violence than their peers in 25 other industrialized nations combined.

Why do we tolerate the incessant glorification of violence and guns on our movie, television, Internet, and video game screens? Why are guns the only unregulated consumer product in America? Why do we regulate toy guns, but not the real guns that kill a child every two hours. What is it going to take for us to stop this senseless neglect and child carnage?

A 1993 report published by the American Psychological Association stated: "There is absolutely no doubt that higher levels of viewing violence on television are correlated with increased acceptance of aggressive attitudes and increased aggressive behavior. Children's exposure to violence in the mass media, particularly at young ages, can have harmful lifelong consequences."

Let's get together and turn off our television sets if the violence does not abate, and fight for laws that keep guns out of the hands of children and those who would harm children. We must give our children a sense that they are loved and valued and safe. A recent study of students in grades 7 - 12 showed that teenagers who feel "connected" to their schools and families are less likely to engage in risky or violent behavior. This is hardly a surprise. We cannot underestimate the importance of family, teachers, and faith communities, and we must nurture that feeling of "connectedness" very early. The importance of early childhood education, both for academic and social purposes, is crucial. Studies prove that early intervention and education for preschoolers not only sparks a love of learning, but also reduces the likelihood of violent behavior later on.

Investing in and educating all American children is an urgent moral and practical imperative. If our democracy is to remain vibrant in the dawning new century and millennium, if our economy is to remain on the cutting edge in a global economy, then we must make America's promise of fair opportunities and safe environments real right now to our children right here at home.

We must take responsibility for putting into place the resources and bipartisan political support to get our priorities straight, whether we're talking about education, health care, child care, or violence prevention. There are millions of children who are depending on us—for protection, for guidance, for the basic necessities. Before one more child is lost, we must muster the necessary will to make sure all of our children receive the healthy and fair and safe start in life they require and deserve.

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Mrs. Mae Bertha Carter (1923 – 1999)
Her Life and Legacy

Anyone who doesn't believe that one person or, in this case, one family, can make a difference obviously never met Mrs. Mae Bertha Carter. One of the great unsung heroes of the Civil Rights Movement, Mrs. Carter played a major role in bringing about the desegregation of the all-White public schools in Sunflower County, Mississippi.

Mrs. Carter died from cancer on April 28th at the age of 76. But the legacy of her life and her courage will have a lasting effect on our society for generations to come.

Mrs. Carter, who grew up in Sunflower County, Mississippi, started picking cotton at the age of six. The daughter of sharecroppers, she was raised on a plantation and received the equivalent of a fifth-grade education. School for Black children lasted *only* four months a year in order to accommodate cotton-picking season. But early on, Mrs. Carter realized the importance of an education, and jumped at the chance to learn whenever the opportunity arose.

As an adult, she continued to live the life of a sharecropper with her husband, Matthew Carter, as they struggled to raise thirteen children. To make ends meet, all of the children picked cotton alongside their parents, earning less than $1,700 a year. That small pittance along with food from their farm animals and garden is what the family lived on.

The Carters knew that an education was the key to getting out of the cotton fields. Every time Mrs. Carter saw one of the shiny yellow buses filled with White children drive by, she knew that something had to be done to correct the unfair educational opportunities for Black children. When Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 ordered desegregation of all public schools receiving federal aid, the Carters thought this was it—the chance to realize their dream of having their children truly educated. Mississippi's response to Title VI was to send out "freedom of choice" papers, allowing parents to designate what schools their children would attend. The Carters were the only Black citizens in Sunflower County to sign the papers, choosing to send their children to Drew, Mississippi's previously all-White schools.

Photo © Todd Rosenberg

Marian Wright Edelman and Mrs. Mae Bertha Carter at the former Alex Haley Farm in March, 1999.

The Carter family's life and courage has been chronicled by Constance Curry, in her book, *Silver Rights*. Curry worked for the American Friends Service Committee during the tumultuous 1960's, helping families like the Carters face threats and hostility. Eight of their thirteen children were still at home when Curry first met the Carters. In her book, Ruth, the oldest of the eight, said, "We jumped at the chance to integrate the school because at least we could get away from the cotton fields, and because we thought it would, later on, make the world a better place."

But the world, and in particular, Sunflower County, had a long way to go toward becoming a "better place." At school, the Carter children had to endure name-calling, spitballs, and ostracism by the other children. The family had their home shot at, lost their credit and crop, and ultimately, had to leave the plantation. When Matthew Carter was asked why he took the enormous risk of filling out the "freedom of choice" papers and sending his children to the "all-White" schools his reply was simple. "We thought they meant it."

As difficult as those times were, the family never thought of giving up, and Mrs. Carter was always there to listen and to remind her children of what was really important. "Mama wouldn't let us say we hated White people, or that we wished we had never been born," daughter Ruth remembers.

Children's Defense Fund President Marian Wright Edelman recalls, "Mrs. Mae Bertha tried to convince other Black families to enroll their children in Drew's "White" schools. None did. I can't blame them. But how deeply I admire the courage of the Carters and all those throughout the South who challenged the White establishment in those years!" In 1967, while serving as the attorney for the NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Edelman represented the Carters, on behalf of their children, in a class-action suit against the Drew School District. As a result of that suit, the Mississippi "freedom of choice" plans were ruled illegal.

Eight Carter children graduated from the formerly all-White Drew High School, and seven of them went on to graduate from the University of Mississippi. After her children had grown, Mrs. Carter worked for Head Start, continuing her mission to provide poor Black children with a proper education.

Thinking back on those frightening times in 1965, Mrs. Carter later declared, "Somebody had to do it — if it was within them. And it was in me. We couldn't get around doing it."

Her determination continues to guide many of us today, including Marian Wright Edelman. "Her courage and steely will inspire me as I look back—and look forward to what we have to do as parents, communities, and a nation to Leave No Child Behind."

Mrs. Mae Bertha Carter and those like her are role models in today's perilous times, and her spirit will live on and on.

Children's Sabbaths 1999

Turning Faith into Action for Children

James "Stick" Harris, a captain with the Lexington County Sheriff's Department, spoke softly to 22 children at the Friday night children's sleepover that began the 1998 Children's Sabbaths at Young's Chapel AME Church in Irmo, South Carolina. It was little more than one week since their friend, six year-old Charnell Smith, had died at the hands of her primary care giver. Harris gently explained that "sometimes there are people who don't take good care of children as they are supposed to." Invoking last year's theme, Harris said, "We are Gifted and Called to Raise Up Our Children. And with the Lord's guidance, we can do just that."

In Baltimore, Maryland, the city's mayor looked on with hundreds of others at the Cathedral of The Incarnation as little four year-old Liam Fowl carried two candles—representing the 39th and 40th child killed in Baltimore by violence in 1998—to the special Children's Altar. His father could feel that his young son had grasped the significance of the moment. "Something," said Stephen Fowl, "was going on inside of him that I hadn't anticipated."

Photo © Lisa Hoffey

The 1998 National Observance of Children's Sabbaths inspired Americans in thousands of mosques, synagogues, faith communities, and churches to commit to serving the needs of children. "We have hundreds of congregations around the country," said Rabbi David Saperstein, Director, Religious Action Center for Reform Judaism, "and the letters we get from them speak about the power that the Children's Sabbath had for the congregation—what an immense spiritual experience it is for the people who participate, and what a shot-in-the-arm it is for their social justice work."

> **"(Children's Sabbath) is about awareness of the congregation. But, most important, it is about *action*."**

A nationwide movement begun by CDF in 1992, Children's Sabbaths use worship services, religious education classes, and congregational outreach and advocacy activities to generate new, long-term efforts to meet the needs of children. Designated for the third weekend in October, Children's Sabbaths begin across the nation on Friday night with services in synagogues and mosques and continue through Sunday with church and interfaith worship services. "Children's Sabbath is about worship," says CDF President Marian Wright Edelman. "It's about awareness of the congregation. But, most important, it is about *action*—how do we reach out and serve children and make sure that children's needs are met—personally, as a congregation? But then, how do we bring about a more just society?"

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Turning faith into action for children

(Continued from page 5)

The theme of the eighth annual National Observance of Children's Sabbaths, to be celebrated on October 15-17, 1999, "*Wonderfully Made: Preparing Children to Learn and Succeed.*" This means providing quality early learning experiences at home or in child care, Head Start, or preschool settings; ensuring that every school helps all children learn and achieve; and preparing young people for success in work and in life. Children's Sabbaths also address the obstacles that hinder children's school readiness to learn—including poverty, poor nutrition, lack of health care, lack of quality child care and early learning experiences, lack of encouragement and adult support—and violence.

The 1999 Children's Sabbaths come in the wake of the fifth and sixth mass shooting at an American high school or middle school since October 1997—the tragedies at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado, where two youths murdered 12 fellow students and one teacher in a shooting and bomb-throwing rampage before turning their guns on themselves; and at Heritage High School in Conyers, Georgia, where six seniors survived wounds inflicted by a classmate.

Photo © Courtesy of People's Congregation United Church of Christ

People's Congregation United Church of Christ liturgical dancer participates in their 1998 Children's Sabbaths event.

"We grieve the tragic loss of 15 lives by gunfire in Littleton, and the senseless wounding of six bodies and souls in Conyers, but we must do more than grieve. We must act with urgency to put our children first in our families, communities, states, and nation," Edelman said. "Children's Sabbaths affirm the faith mandate in every great religious tradition to protect, nurture, and care for children, and gives congregations the opportunity to embrace and renew their responsibility to their young people, their communities, and our nation."

You have the resources

As in past years, CDF has published a Children's Sabbaths resource manual. Now available, *Wonderfully Made: Preparing Children to Learn and Succeed* offers practical, step-by-step suggestions and materials designed to help communities celebrate their own Children's Sabbaths. It contains valuable resources such as a sample planning guide, media release, and bulletin insert, as well as samples of lesson plans for workshops; prayers and sermons for adults and children; and reproducible clip art and fliers. For the second time since the inception of Children's Sabbaths, the manual combines education and worship resources for a wide range of religious traditions including Baha'i, Buddhist, Christian, Islamic, Jewish, Native American, and Unitarian Universalist.

"We received such a wonderful response to our first interfaith manual

(See page 7)

Planning Your Children's Sabbath Celebration

"Children's Sabbath can be a poster contest that kids can be involved in," says the Rev. Dr. James Forbes, Jr., Senior Minister of Riverside Church in New York City. "It can be an oratorical contest where we talk about what we need to do to help our children; it can be a legislative weekend where parents are engaged in advocacy."

"So many creative, and uplifting activities for bringing people of faith together are possible with Children's Sabbaths," says Rhee. "But there are some basic elements to consider in planning a successful Children's Sabbath." Below are some of those elements.

- **Begin with prayer.** Seek God's guidance for your Children's Sabbath, turn to God for the strength and commitment to plan it, pray for partners to help you in this venture, and thank God for the precious children God has entrusted to our care.
- **Order *Wonderfully Made: Preparing Children to Learn and Succeed*.** CDF's multi-faith manual with practical, step-by-step suggestions on how to plan your Children's Sabbath.
- **Secure support.** In addition to getting approval from appropriate clergy, staff, or committees, do some preliminary investigation into potential sources of financial support for your Children's Sabbath.
- **Secure the date.** Mark the date on the congregation's calendar. Most Children's Sabbath celebrations will take place on the weekend of October 15-17, 1999 during traditional worship and education time. If your congregation has a conflict with that date, choose another.
- **Recruit a Committee** to plan the Children's Sabbath and activities leading up to or following it. In addition to clergy and congregation staff, consider involving religious education teachers, social action committee members, children and youths.

Turning faith into action for children

(Continued from page 6)

last year," said Anna Rhee, CDF Director of Religious Affairs (see inset to the right.) "It inspired planners of Children's Sabbaths, even more powerfully than in previous years, to bring together different faith communities to address in prayer and action the needs of all their children. We are so happy that we can provide an interfaith manual again, and make it available early enough so that planners can have the time to develop the Children's Sabbath most meaningful to their communities."

Children's Sabbaths are endorsed by over 200 organizations, weaving a multifaith mosaic of more than 250,000 congregations, communities of faith, religious coalitions, civic and community groups. Among these are the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA, the Congress of National Black Churches, the International Institute for Islamic Thought, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, and the National Black Catholic Congress.

Director of Religious Affairs Sees Endless Possibilities

"Faith communities have rich traditions of concern and advocacy for children. It is the commitment of people of faith to making the world safer for children that energizes me for this work," says Anna Rhee, CDF's Director of Religious Affairs since January 1999. Rhee oversees the annual National Observance of Children's Sabbaths, as well as the annual Institute for Child Advocacy Ministry (taking place July 19-23 at the former Alex Haley Farm in Clinton, Tennessee.) She comes to CDF from the national offices of the United Methodist Church, and with over 14 years experience in public policy analysis, advocacy, education, and organizing in the interfaith community.

"One of the most wonderful things about Children's Sabbaths," says Rhee, "is that a congregation can choose to plan its own celebration, or to join with other congregations to plan an ecumenical or interfaith Children's Sabbath. The opportunities to educate and bring communities together in support of children are endless and exciting.

"Faith communities responded so favorably to the interfaith manual in 1998. I hope that *Wonderfully Made* proves even more helpful and inspiring."

A moveable feast

Although Children's Sabbaths are designed to be celebrated on the third weekend in October, the program can be tailored to meet the needs of your community. For instance, because of various scheduling conflicts, St. Margaret Mary Parish in Naperville, Illinois held its Children's Sabbath on the weekend of November 11-15, rather than on the third weekend in October. Tom Cordaro, Outreach & Justice Minister, writes, "One of the things that this later date allowed us to do was to direct our advocacy campaign at the newly elected governor of Illinois—who during his campaign,

(See page 8)

- **Focus your vision.** Clarifying your vision for your Children's Sabbath will help guide your planning and lead to a successful experience.
- **Determine the format.** Choose the approach that is right for your congregation for a successful, affirming Children's Sabbath. The major components to consider incorporating into your Children's Sabbath are:

  Service of Worship: This is the heart of most Children's Sabbath celebrations, lifting up, in prayer, sermon, and song, God's call to all people to nurture and protect children.

  Educational programs: For children, youths, and adults help everyone learn about the problems facing children and the faith-based call to respond.

  Advocacy and hands-on outreach activities: Provide concrete outreach and advocacy activities—perhaps after the service of worship—to help participants put their faith into action.

  Commitment to longer-term responses to children's needs: Provide opportunities for participants to discover and commit to on-going action through information tables, presentations, and sign-up sheets.
- **Involve the children and youths.** The Children's Sabbath is meant to be an intergenerational event that demonstrates and celebrates how everyone—children, youths, parents, singles, and seniors—must respond faithfully to God's call to nurture and protect children. Be sure to involve children and youths in the planning process as well as in carrying out tasks in the Children's Sabbath.
- **Plan to build on your Children's Sabbath.** While planning your Children's Sabbath, keep your focus on the ultimate goal of stimulating new, long-term congregational and individual commitment to help improve the lives of children all year long.

Turning faith into action for children

(Continued from page 7)

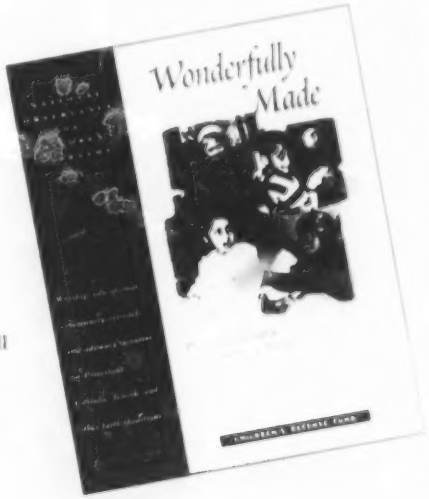
made a lot of promises regarding child care." They also had the support of the Bishop of the Diocese of Joliet, which was really helpful," Cordaro writes. The parish also held an Information Fair that featured a wide range of organizations, including a parent resource center, a state child advocacy group, family shelter services, a YMCA child care placement center, the county health department, and a Catholic school. At the fair, adults wrote postcards, and children drew pictures that were forwarded to the governor-elect.

Wonderfully Made: Preparing Children to Learn and Succeed

October 15-17, 1999

The National Observance of Children's Sabbaths unites thousands of religious congregations and organizations in speaking out and acting faithfully on behalf of children and families. This year's National Observance of Children's Sabbaths focuses on early childhood development and the essentials that children need in order to achieve their full potential.

Please send the Children's Sabbaths multifaith resource manual(s), *Wonderfully Made: Preparing Children to Learn and Succeed* (indicate quantity _____)



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News from the Black Community Crusade for Children

Freedom Schools

"For the first time, I've got a job. I'm going to work with kids and help them out."

Fifteen-year old Olga Rosado is one of 150 high school students from Philadelphia who met in May at the former Alex Haley Farm in Clinton, Tennessee for an intensive three-day training in preparation for her role as a "junior servant-leader" at one of Philadelphia's Freedom Schools.

The Freedom Schools program is modeled after the Freedom Schools of 1964 that were organized in Mississippi as part of the legendary Freedom Summer. Coordinated nationally by the Black Community Crusade for Children, an initiative of the Children's Defense Fund, Freedom Schools are designed to provide summer options where there are none for African-American children and to strengthen parent and community involvement in the lives of children. The schools serve children ages 5-18 who might otherwise be unsafe and unfed during the summer months.

The highly successful Freedom School program typically serves two generations of children—those students enrolled in the program and the college-aged young people, or "servant-leaders," who staff and run the six- to eight-week programs. This summer in Philadelphia the school district is turning the Freedom School experience into a three-generation encounter, by engaging 150 high school students as "junior servants-leaders" to work as co-facilitators alongside seventy college-aged servant-leaders. More than 800 students applied for the 150 available junior servant-leader slots. They were chosen based on their application, two recommendation letters and an essay.

"This summer will be different. I won't have so much free time—which is good," said Shawn Davis, another Philadelphia high school participant who was interested in the program as soon as he heard about it.

The "junior servant-leader" model is the brainchild of Dr. David Hornbeck, Superintendent of Schools for the School District of Philadelphia, and chairman of CDF's board of directors. "We recently adopted an unusual service learning requirement for the Philadelphia schools. Once before 4th grade, 8th grade, and then graduation, students must participate in a community service project." Dr. Hornbeck thought the Freedom School experience, with its 1999 motto, "A Summer of Service, A Lifetime of Commitment," would complement this requirement. He said it would also help the students develop strong leadership skills as well as a commitment to their communities.

Junior servant-leaders participating in teambuilding initiatives

Eight Freedom School sites throughout the city, serving 700 children, will operate in Philadelphia. The high school students who successfully complete the summer program will receive academic credit, while both the junior servant-leaders and college-aged servant-leaders will receive a stipend for their participation. Training for the college-aged young people was held in Tennessee from June 13–20.

As part of the May training, the junior servant-leaders engaged in teambuilding initiatives to promote unity, team spirit, and cohesiveness in preparation for the hard work ahead of them. They received training in the "Stages of Child Development;" "Lesson Plan Preparation;" "Integrated Reading Curriculum;" and "Conflict Resolution." Additional topics, such as "Intergenerational Communication" and "Understanding Male/Female Relationships" were included to facilitate personal development. "There was a lot of role playing," according to Shawn. "They put us in different situations and we had to figure out how to get out of them."

Upon arrival at the training session, it was clear some students viewed this as simply a summer job. But three days later, after gradually letting their guard down, they were enthusiastic about the project and had definitely caught the "spirit" of the Freedom Schools vision and mission. "The atmosphere was so positive that when I came home I was crying," said Olga. "Everybody really got along. I'm Latino and I thought I wasn't going to fit in, but there were no 'cool kid' groups, and everybody was accepted."

Photos © Gianne Hamley

Tribe presentation by Congreso de Latinos Unidos site

An integral and effective part of the training, said Dr. Hornbeck, "is to teach students to celebrate the contributions of diverse cultures in their own communities."

This summer Freedom Schools will serve over 3000 children at 49 sites in 23 cities across the country. Those numbers are expected to increase significantly in 2000 as this model program continues to grow and flourish.

1999 Annual Conference

Almost 1,800 community leaders, parents, child advocates, religious leaders, educators, business leaders, and service providers traveled to Houston, Texas, in late April for CDF's 19th Annual National Conference. The conference program explored the 1999 theme, *Healthy Start, Achieving Children, Successful Futures*, in nearly 100 workshops, plenary sessions, and intensive skill-building training tracks.

Photo © Jowdy Photography

From left: Marian Wright Edelman, "Beat The Odds" award winners Alberto L. Garcia, April Irene Stevens, Shantera Rayford, Katiska Evurunobi, and Courtney Michelle Wyly, news anchor Melanie Lawson, BTO luncheon host; and retired US Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen, Jr. (seated), honoree and longtime CDF supporter.

The conference was kicked off with a luncheon for business leaders where Arthur Levitt, Chairman of the U.S. Securities & Exchange Commission, spoke of the need for children to enter school Ready to Learn and Ready to Succeed, and called on the corporate community to help make that happen. At the opening plenary session, Dr. Ron Anderson, President and CEO of Parkland Health & Hospital System in Dallas, told energized conference participants why a healthy childhood is an essential building block to a successful and productive life. At another plenary presentation, Dr. David Hornbeck, Superintendent of the Philadelphia School System and chairman of the CDF board of directors, unveiled CDF's "Ten Point Education Agenda." He was joined by several nationally known education experts who discussed what America needs to do to ensure that all children succeed in school.

Conference participants were treated to a moving "Beat the Odds" Awards Celebration, where five Houston area high school seniors were honored for overcoming personal challenges and hardships to achieve academic excellence.

CDF President Marian Wright Edelman closed the conference by inviting the enthusiastic group to join us again in New York in March 2000 for CDF's 20th Annual National Conference.

Queen Rania visits CDF

The Children's Defense Fund was honored by the visit of Queen Rania Al-Abdullah of Jordan to its Washington DC headquarters. Queen Rania, a strong advocate for children in her country, met with CDF President Marian Wright Edelman to discuss problems children face in both Jordan and the United States. Queen Rania also met with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton during her visit to the United States.

Queen Rania has worked to support children's causes in Jordan. She is

Photo © Courtesy of Embassy of Jordan

Queen Rania chats with CDF President Marian Wright Edelman, and new CDF vice-presidents Susanne Martinez and Barbara Kelley Duncan.

founder and president of the Jordan River Foundation, a non-profit, non-governmental institution encompassing several projects that assist vulnerable segments of Jordan's population.

The queen also met with Susanne Martinez, senior vice president for policy, and Barbara Kelley Duncan, vice president for leadership development and the Black Community Crusade for Children (See Promotions). The queen also addressed the entire CDF staff and expressed her admiration for the work and dedication of the organization.

CHIP Update
White House Releases Enrollment Figures

Nearly one million children have been enrolled in the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) according to the White House. The Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) reports that in the 43 states with CHIP programs operating during 1998, 982,000 children were enrolled. Approximately 540,000 children were in separate state programs and 442,000 were in Medicaid expansion programs.

The White House figures suggest states are well on their way to enrolling the targeted 2.5 million children by the year 2000. Current enrollment figures reflect only the initial stages of CHIP implementation but the one million figure is significant given that:

- Of the 43 CHIP programs that were in operation at the end of 1998, 22 are either entirely new programs or combined Medicaid expansion/CHIP programs requiring new infrastructures, additional staff, and training.
- Ten of the 43 programs included in HHS's first state enrollment data did not start enrolling children until after October 1, 1998.
- The average operational time for the programs was about six months, with state enrollment strategies in their initial stages.

While the figures are promising, the White House called on states to reduce and eliminate barriers to enrollment—such as a lengthy application and enrollment process. HHS also released new guidelines in May ensuring Medicaid coverage for families and children affected by new welfare changes. To download "Supporting Families in Transition: A Guide to Expanding Health Coverage in the Post-Welfare Reform

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CDF at Work

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World" visit the Health Care Financing Administration Web site at www.hcfa.gov/medical/welfare/htm.

A "NEW" Community Guide to Aid CHIP Enrollment

To help increase the number of children with health insurance, CDF has developed a new tool kit specifically designed to assist those working with families to inform them about CHIP and Medicaid eligibility. The guide provides easy to follow, step-by-step information geared towards the child care community, faith-based community, local business community, individuals and others involved in local efforts to enroll children in CHIP and Medicaid. The guide contains state-by-state income eligibility tables, flyers in both Spanish and English, talking points, frequently asked questions and more. It is designed to be used in conjunction with the "Sign Them Up" section of the CDF Web site www.childrensdefense.org/signup. This area of the Web site has updated information about successful outreach efforts across the country as well as detailed information about each state's CHIP and Medicaid programs. The Web site also has links to state Web pages and applications.

Brochures in Spanish

CDF's "Sign Them Up" brochure is now available in Spanish. This brochure explains the new Children's Health Insurance Program in an easy-to-understand format. To order please call 1-800-CDF-1200 ext. 2. The Web site address is www.childrensdefense.org/signup.

Promotions

As part of CDF's administrative restructuring, Marian Wright Edelman announced the promotion of two CDF veterans to two newly created positions. **Susanne Martinez** was appointed senior vice president-policy, and **Barbara Kelley Duncan** was appointed vice president for leadership development and the Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC).

Susanne Martinez has served as director of programs and policy since 1997. She came to CDF after more than 20 years of staff experience in the United States Senate. She served as legislative director and counsel to Senator Russ Feingold (D-Wis.), and as staff director of the Senate Subcommittee on Child and Human Development for the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee. She was also legal counsel to Senator Alan Cranston (D-Calif.). A San Francisco native, Martinez earned her BA in sociology from the University of California, Davis, and her JD from Hastings College of Law in San Francisco.

Barbara Kelley Duncan joined CDF in 1996 as BCCC's national director. Previously, she served for 10 years as executive director of the Union Industrial Home for Children in Trenton, New Jersey. Duncan served as vice president of the New Jersey Association of Children's Residential Facilities, and on the advisory committee of the New Jersey Health Initiatives Program of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. She has received numerous awards including selection as a 1992 Leadership New Jersey Fellow.

Duncan graduated magna cum laude with a B.A. in sociology from La Salle University, Philadelphia, and holds a master's degree in education from Springfield College in Massachusetts.

New Hires

"She has the highest level of management experience," said Marian Wright Edelman of **Jodie Torkelson**, CDF's new vice president of operations. "She is superb and will greatly enhance the effectiveness of CDF's entire infrastructure." Torkelson joins CDF as part of its administrative restructuring, and will oversee all CDF financial, development, and administrative operations.

A native of Thief River Falls, Minnesota, Torkelson earned her BA in political science from Moorhead State University in Minnesota. She came to Washington in 1980 as an intern for a Minnesota congressman, and in January 1981 joined the staff of Leon E. Panetta (D-Calif.) "When I started with Leon I was just a pup. But I was willing to do any job, and any job I took on I was committed to doing well." Her resourcefulness and "can-do" attitude eventually earned her the position as Panetta's Chief of Staff in 1988 and as his senior advisor and director of Administration during his tenure as chairman of the powerful House Budget Committee. She assumed a similar role when President Bill Clinton appointed Panetta Director of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) in 1993.

When Panetta became White House Chief of Staff, the president tapped Torkelson to be Assistant to the President for Management and Administration, making her responsible for the overall management of the Executive Office of the President with its $175 million budget.

Torkelson comes to CDF from the Voice of America, which broadcasts worldwide in more than 52 languages on radio, television and the Internet. There she was Chief of Staff, responsible for managing the staff of 1,100, as well as senior advisor to the Director.

CDF's Department of Communications recently welcomed **Elizabeth Alesbury** and **Jonathan Bush.** As writer and Web site editor, Alesbury will compose stories on public policy, current legislation and a myriad of other topics for CDF's newsletter, *CDF Reports*. Alesbury's multifaceted communications career includes positions as television producer, news writer for the CBS affiliate in Washington, DC, and media relations consultant. She began her media career in radio in San Francisco.

As managing editor, Jonathan Bush will oversee all CDF print and electronic publications. He will be responsible for editing all formal and informal reports as well as other printed materials. Bush joins the communications division with a wealth of media, public relations, and political experience.

Herman Piper joins CDF as the new Coordinator, Office of Interns and Volunteers. He will oversee all intern and volunteer activities. Piper brings a diverse and dynamic career in human services administration. Prior to joining CDF, he was Director of the Family and Community Life Center at Xavier University in New Orleans, Louisiana. Piper developed and administered a citywide violence prevention project for urban youth in the city of New Orleans. He also designed and moderated training programs for college students, business executives, and elected officials.

Nearly thirteen children die from gunfire every day in America

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guns, are held in hundreds of communities every week. At these shows, guns can be sold to anyone—even children—because "private" collectors aren't required to conduct background checks or institute waiting periods for buyers.

A 1995 survey found that 59 percent of parents who admitted to having a gun in the house did not lock the gun away from their children.

"Our failure to control the proliferation of arms and to confront the plague of violence that transcends all racial, geographic, and income boundaries has contributed to escalating community and domestic violence and to its lethality," said Edelman.

Nearly 13 children die daily from guns, and at least 50 additional children are injured every day from firearms, adding billions to public health costs annually. One study done in Illinois, in the early 1990's, calculated that the hospital cost to treat children with gun injuries exceeded $14,000 per child, and cost more than $69 million over 4 years.

What to do

"To combat violence, Americans must first acknowledge that there has been a complete breakdown in values, common sense, and parent and community responsibility to protect and nurture children," said Edelman.

"Never has America permitted children to rely on guns and gangs rather than parents and neighbors for protection and love, or pushed so many children onto the tumultuous sea of life without the life vests of nurturing families and communities, challenged minds, job prospects, and hope," she said. "Never have we exposed children so early and relentlessly to cultural messages glamorizing violence, sex, possessions, alcohol, and tobacco with so few mediating influences from responsible adults. And never have we experienced such a numbing and reckless reliance on violence to resolve problems, feel powerful, or be entertained."

"Adults," said Edelman, "must stop being hypocritical and admit that they are the ones who have taught children to kill and disrespect human life by manufacturing, marketing, and profiting from guns; financing, producing, directing, and starring in violent television

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Juvenile Justice Bill Update

During May and June, the Senate and House respectively considered legislation addressing juvenile crime and gun safety.

S. 254, the Violent and Repeat Juvenile Offender Act of 1999, was approved by the Senate on May 20, 1999, by a vote of 73-25. The Children's Defense Fund praised the modest first steps toward tougher gun protections adopted on the Senate floor, but expressed concern about the overall bill, in particular, the repeal of provisions in existing law that require states to address the disproportionate confinement of minority youth.

"Requiring safety locks on new handguns and closing the gun show loophole that allows convicted felons and children to purchase guns are measures that are long overdue," said Liz Ryan, CDF's Senior Legislative Associate. Amendments adopted on the Senate floor would:

- Ban the possession of semiautomatic assault weapons by juveniles;
- Ban the possession of large capacity ammunition magazines by juveniles;
- Ban the future importation of large-capacity ammunition-feeding magazines and make the transfer of a handgun, semiautomatic weapon, or high-capacity clip to a juvenile a felony punishable by up to five years in prison;
- Close the gun show loophole by requiring background checks for all firearm sales at gun shows, require gun show promoters to register all gun shows 30 days prior to the event, and require all vendors to keep records of all transactions at the gun show; and,
- Require handguns sold, delivered, or transferred by licensed dealers to have a trigger lock or other safety device.

"It is shocking that the final gun vote, 51-50, was so close," said Ryan. "This is not about the Second Amendment; it's about adult responsibility, common sense, and public safety. If an adult brings a gun into the home, that adult has the responsibility to ensure that children do not have ready access to it."

While the restrictions passed by the Senate represent an important first step toward protecting children, the Senate did not vote on several other controversial gun proposals such as raising the legal age at which an individual can purchase a handgun (from any source) from 18 to 21 or restricting an individual's ability to purchase more than one handgun a month.

During the week of June 16, the House of Representatives approved legislation to toughen laws against juveniles committing crimes and rejected legislation to tighten gun safety laws.

On June 17, the House approved H.R. 1501, the Consequences for Juvenile Offenders Act, by a vote of 287-139. The Children's Defense Fund opposed the legislation because it allowed prosecutors to determine whether a juvenile would be charged as an adult, reduced the age at which a child can be charged as an adult to 13 years of age, broadened the number of crimes for which children can be charged as adults, imposed mandatory minimum sentences on children, and failed to provide for a significant investment in prevention efforts that have proven successful in many communities in reducing youth crime.

"A child of 13 has different life experiences, a different level of maturity, and a different world view compared to a 30 year old adult. Society does not have the same expectations of a 13 year old and a 30 year old. It is simply

Nearly thirteen children die from gunfire every day in America

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shows and movies; and bearing children only to leave millions of them behind without enough love, attention, basic health care, quality child care, education, or moral guidance."

Parents, educators, child advocates, religious and civic leaders, business owners, and elected officials can help take guns out of the hands of children, and those who kill children, by working together and calling for responsible gun regulation. City officials can hold gun manufacturers accountable, as New Orleans, Chicago, and Atlanta are doing, for the costs associated with gun violence. State and federal leaders can close loopholes relating to gun shows, push for child safety locks on all firearms, require gun owners to keep records when they sell a gun, prohibit minors from owning any assault weapons, and institute "one-gun-a-month" limits.

"Those of us who care about children and the future of our country need to keep on working until we change the odds for all American children by making the violence of guns, poverty, preventable disease, and family neglect un-American."

"In addition," said Reef, "elected officials must invest in violence prevention and intervention programs that help keep children safe with constructive activities and positive adult role models, such as after-school and summer jobs programs."

Edelman advises people not to become overwhelmed or discouraged by the seemingly great task of transforming America into a fabric of caring communities with nurturing families. "It takes just one person to change a child's life," she notes. "Those of us who care about children and the future of our country need to keep on working until we change the odds for all American children by making the violence of guns, poverty, preventable disease, and family neglect un-American."

wrong to charge children who are 13 years old as adults and it is wrong to impose mandatory minimum sentences on children," said Jesselyn McCurdy, Juvenile and Family Court Judges Leadership Council Program Coordinator.

"Our nation's juvenile justice system has been focused on rehabilitation for 100 years. With that in mind, a judge should have the discretion to review each child's case on a case-by-case basis and recommend appropriate sentences and treatment. Two-thirds of children who commit a first offense never commit another one. Mandatory minimums applied to children serve only to write off children, not address their problems with rehabilitation and a successful future in mind."

On June 18, the House failed to pass gun safety legislation, H.R. 2122, by a vote of 147–280. The Children's Defense Fund opposed H.R. 2122 because it was not only weaker than the Senate-passed gun safety bill, but it also weakened current law.

During debate on the House floor, an amendment offered by Representative John Dingell (D-Mich.) was adopted by a vote of 218–211. The Dingell amendment would undermine the 30-year ban on interstate sales of handguns (like mail order sales between states—the way that Lee Harvey Oswald purchased his gun) by allowing gun show sellers to ship firearms purchased at a gun show to private individuals in any state.

The Dingell amendment also shortened the Brady background check for handguns sold at gun shows from three business days to 24 hours. "According to the Department of Justice, 312,000 illegal handgun sales have been blocked since March of 1994 when the Brady background check law was first implemented," said Ryan.

"It is incredible that the House would adopt the Dingell amendment to undermine the Brady background check. Since 95 percent of all gun buyers have their background check completed within 2 hours, reducing the time for law enforcement to conduct a background check will affect only the 5 percent of individuals whose background check doesn't immediately clear. And it's those individuals who would be more likely to pose a problem.

"This is the gun show loophole bill. The House of Representatives has voted to protect guns and felons, not children," said Ryan. "We are deeply disappointed. We had hoped that, at a minimum, the Senate gun safety provisions would be retained. While it is good news that this legislation was defeated because it would have weakened current law, it is simply incredible that the House had a chance to improve our gun safety laws and failed."

The juvenile crime bill passed by the Senate (which includes both juvenile crime and gun provisions), and the juvenile crime bill passed by the House, will now go to a joint House/Senate conference committee where members will negotiate the differences between the two bills in order to send one bill to President Clinton. While there are no gun provisions in the House bill, gun provisions will be negotiated as part of the final bill since they are included in the Senate-passed bill.

"Urge your Senators and Representative today to include strong gun safety provisions in conference," Ryan said. "Let them know that you opposed the House bill that weakened current law and want the conference, at a minimum, to retain the Senate-passed gun safety provisions."

One step for children

Help spread the word to working families who might qualify for the Children's Health Insurance Program.

www.childrensdefense.org/signup for more information

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Where Will I End Up?

I've been on a run ever since I've been born
That's why now I appear to be in many storms
Rain thunder
Life of hunger.
Seventeen years trying so hard to conquer my
fear and get over my past
It's starting to rain and only I can feel the pain
That rain upon me is real
It feels like copper,
Rocks,
Steel.
Oh, Father how I wish this wasn't real
Where would I end up
Because of my past
Is it a sign?
Saying Kevin
You might not last
Father
Don't take me now
I don't know where I'll go.

Father
Can you tell me?
Because only you know
I'm a blind man
Looking for a way out,
A deaf man
Listening for directions,
And a legless man
Running for help.
Will my past grow
Or will the storms stay?
Father forgive me
I don't want to learn the hard way.

By Kevin White
17 years old
May 16,1999
Philadelphia Project
Freedom Schools Training
Held at The former Alex Haley Farm

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